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A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD,

In the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV.

BY

GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the *South-Seas*.

COMPILED

From Papers and other Materials of the Right Honourable *GEORGE* Lord *ANSON*, and published under his Direction.

By RICHARD WALTER, M. A.

Chaplain of his Majesty's Ship the *Centurion*, in that Expedition.

THE THIRD EDITION.

With CHARTS of the Southern Part of *South America*, of Part of the *Pacific Ocean*, and of the Track of the *Centurion* round the World.

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TO

HIS GRACE,

JOHN,

Duke of *Bedford*, Marquis of *Tavistock*, Earl of *Bedford*, Baron *Russel*, Baron *Russel*, of *Thornhaugh*, and Baron *Howland*, of *Streatham*;

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and Lord-Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the County of BEDFORD.

My LORD,

THE following Narrative of a very singular naval atchievement is addressed to Your GRACE, both on account of the infinite obligations which the Commander in Chief at all times professes to have received from your Friendship; and also, as the Subject itself naturally

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turally claims the patronage of One, under whoſe direction, the *Britiſh* Navy has reſumed its ancient Spirit and Luſtre, and has in one ſummer ennobled itſelf by two victories, the moſt deciſive, and (if the ſtrength and number of the captures be conſidered) the moſt important, that are to be met with in our Annals. Indeed, an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs, and a manifeſt ſuperiority gained univerſally over the enemy, both in commerce and glory, ſeem to be the neceſſary effects of a revival of ſtrict diſcipline, and of an unbiaſſed regard to merit and ſervice. Theſe are marks that muſt diſtinguiſh the happy period of time in which Your GRACE preſided, and afford a fitter ſubject for hiſtory, than for an addreſs of this nature. Very ſignal advantages of rank and diſtinction, obtained and ſecured to the naval profeſſion by Your GRACE's auſpicious influence, will remain a laſting monument of Your unwearied zeal

and

and attachment to it, and be for ever remembred with the higheſt gratitude, by all who ſhall be employed in it. As theſe were the generous rewards of paſt exploits, they will be likewiſe the nobleſt incentives, and ſureſt pledges of the future. That Your GRACE's eminent talents, magnanimity, and diſintereſted zeal, whence the Public has already reaped ſuch ſignal benefits, may in all times prove equally ſucceſsful in advancing the proſperity of *Great-Britain*, is the ardent wiſh of,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's

Moſt obedient,

Moſt devoted,

AND

Moſt humble Servant,

RICHARD WALTER.

Advertiſement.

THE Plates in the Quarto Edition being too numerous and large to be folded in an Octavo Volume, it has been thought proper to inſert only two Charts, of the moſt general Uſe; together with an additional Chart, ſhewing the Track of the *Centurion* round the World: But the Reader is deſired to take Notice, that the References to all the Plates are continued in this Edition; and compleat Setts of them are ſold by *J.* and *P. Knapton*, in *Ludgate-Street.*

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INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

NOtwithſtanding the great improvement of navigation within the laſt two Centuries, a Voyage round the World is ſtill conſidered as an enterprize of a very ſingular nature; and the Public have never failed to be extremely inquiſitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune, with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended: And though the amuſement expected in a narration of this kind, is doubtleſs one great ſource of this curioſity, and a ſtrong incitement with the bulk of readers, yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed, that from theſe relations, if faithfully executed, the more important purpoſes of navigation, commerce, and national intereſt may be greatly promoted: For every authentic account of foreign coaſts and countries will contribute to one or more of theſe great ends, in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of thoſe countries, and our ignorance of thoſe coaſts; and therefore a Voyage round the World promiſes a ſpecies of information, of all others the moſt deſirable and intereſting; ſince great part of it is performed in ſeas, and on coaſts, with which we are as yet but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth, though it is at the ſame time ſtigmatiſed for its poverty, in the neceſſaries and conveniencies of a civilized life.

Theſe

Theſe conſiderations have occaſioned the publication of the enſuing work; which, in gratifying the inquiſitive turn of mankind, and contributing to the ſafety and ſucceſs of future navigators, and to the extenſion of our commerce and power, may doubtleſs vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public: Since the circumſtances of this undertaking already known to the world, may be ſuppoſed to have ſtrongly excited the general curioſity; for whether we conſider the force of the ſquadron ſent on this ſervice, or the diverſified diſtreſſes that each ſingle ſhip was ſeparately involved in, or the uncommon inſtances of various fortune, which attended the whole enterprize; each part, I conceive, muſt, from its rude well-known outlines, appear worthy of a compleater and more finiſhed delineation: And if this be allowed with reſpect to the narrative part of the work, there can be no doubt about the more uſeful and inſtructive parts, which are almoſt every where interwoven with it; for I can venture to affirm, without fear of being contradicted on a compariſon, that no voyage I have yet ſeen, furniſhes ſuch a number of views of land, ſoundings, draughts of roads and ports, charts, and other materials, for the improvement of geography and navigation, as are referred to in the enſuing volume; which are of the more importance too, as the greateſt part of them relate to ſuch Iſlands or Coaſts, as have been hitherto not at all or erroneouſly deſcribed, and where the want of ſufficient and authentic information might occaſion future enterprizes to prove abortive, perhaps with the deſtruction of the men and veſſels employed therein.

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And beſides the number and choice of theſe marine drawings and deſcriptions, there is another very eſſential circumſtance belonging to them, which much enhances their value; and that is, the great accuracy they were drawn with. I ſhall expreſs my opinion of them in this particular very imperfectly; when I ſay, that they are not exceeded, and parhaps not equalled by any thing of this nature hitherto made public: For they were not copied from the works of others, or compoſed at home from imperfect accounts, given by incurious and unſkilful obſervers, as hath been frequently the caſe in theſe matters; but the greateſt part of them were drawn on the ſpot with the utmoſt exactneſs, by the direction, and under the eye of Mr. *Anſon* himſelf; and where (as is the caſe in three or four of them) they have been done by leſs ſkilful hands, or were found in poſſeſſion of the enemy, and conſequently their juſtneſs could be leſs relied on, I have always taken care to apprize the reader of it, and to put him on his guard againſt giving entire credit to them; although I doubt not, but theſe leſs authentic draughts, thus cautiouſly inſerted, are to the full as correct as thoſe, which are uſually publiſhed on theſe occaſions. For as actual ſurveys of roads and harbours, and nice and critical delineations of views of land, take up much time and attention, and require a good degree of ſkill both in planning and drawing; thoſe who are defective in induſtry and ability, ſupply theſe wants by bold conjectures, and fictitious deſcriptions; and as they can be no otherwiſe confuted than by going on the ſpot, and running the riſque of ſuffering by their miſinformation, they have no apprehenſions of being detected; and therefore, when they

they intrude their ſuppoſititious productions on the Public, they make no conſcience of boaſting at the ſame time, with how much ſkill and care they are performed. And let not thoſe who are unacquainted with naval affairs imagine, that impoſitions of this kind are of an innocent nature; for as exact views of land are the ſureſt guide to a ſeaman, on a coaſt where he has never been before, all fictions in ſo intereſting a matter muſt be attended with numerous dangers, and ſometimes with the deſtruction of thoſe who are thus unhappily deceived.

Beſides theſe draughts of ſuch places as Mr. *Anſon* or the ſhips under his command have touched at in the courſe of this expedition, and the deſcriptions and directions relating thereto, there is inſerted, in the enſuing work, an ample deſcription, with a chart annexed to it, of a particular navigation, of which hitherto little more than the name has been known, except to thoſe immediately employed in it: I mean the track deſcribed by the *Manila* ſhip, in her paſſage to *Acapulco*, through the northern part of the *Pacific* Ocean. This material part is collected from the draughts and journals met with on board the *Manila* galeon, founded on the experience of more than a hundred and fifty years practice, and corroborated in its principal circumſtances by the concurrent evidence of all the *Spaniſh* priſoners taken in that veſſel. And as many of their journals, which I have examined, appear to have been not ill kept; I preſume, the chart of that northern Ocean, and the particulars of their route through it, may be very ſafely relied on by future Navigators. The advantages, which may be drawn from an exact knowledge of this navigation,

tion, and the beneficial projects that may be formed thereon, both in war and peace, are by no means proper to be discussed in this place: But they will easily offer themselves to the skilful in maritime affairs. However, as the *Manila* ships are the only ones which have ever traversed this vast ocean, except a *French* straggler or two, which have been afterwards seized on the coast of *Mexico*, and as during near two ages, in which this trade has been carried on; the *Spaniards* have, with the greatest care, secreted all accounts of their voyages from the rest of the world; these reasons alone would authorize the insertion of those papers, and would recommend them to the inquisitive, as a very great improvement in geography, and worthy of attention from the singularity of many circumstances recited therein. I must add too, (what in my opinion is far from being the least recommendation of these materials) that the observations of the variation of the compass in that Ocean, which are inserted in the chart from these *Spanish* journals, tend greatly to compleat the general system of the magnetic variation, of infinite import to the commercial and sea-faring part of mankind. These observations were, though in vain, often publickly called for by our learned countryman the late Dr. *Halley*, and to his immortal reputation they confirm, as far as they extend, the wonderful hypothesis he had entertained on this head, and very nearly correspond in their quantity, to the predictions he published above fifty years since, long before he was acquainted with any one observation made in those seas. The ascertaining the variation in that part of the world is just now too of more than ordinary consequence, as the Editors of

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a new variation-chart lately publiſhed, have, for want of obſervations in thoſe parts, been miſled by an erroneous analogy, and have miſtaken the very ſpecies of variation in thoſe northern ſeas; for they make it weſterly where it is eaſterly, and have laid it down 12° or 13° ſhort of its real quantity.

Thus much it has been thought neceſſary to premiſe with regard to the hydrographical and geographical part of the enſuing work; which it is hoped the reader will, on peruſal, find much ampler and more important than this ſlight ſketch can well indicate. But as there are hereafter occaſionally interſperſed ſome accounts of *Spaniſh* tranſactions, and many obſervations on the diſpoſition of the *American Spaniards*, and on the the condition of the countries bordering on the *South-Seas*, and as herein I may appear to differ greatly from the opinions generally eſtabliſhed, I think it incumbent on me particularly to recite the authorities I have been guided by on this occaſion, that I may not be cenſured, as having given way either to a thoughtleſs credulity on one hand, or, what would be a much more criminal imputation, to a wilful and deliberate miſrepreſentation on the other.

Mr. *Anſon*, before he ſet ſail upon this expedition, beſides the printed journals to thoſe parts, took care to furniſh himſelf with the beſt manuſcript accounts he could procure of all the *Spaniſh* ſettlements upon the coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru* and *Mexico*: Theſe he carefully compared with the examinations of his priſoners, and the informations of ſeveral intelligent perſons, who fell into his hands in the *South-Seas*. He had likewiſe the good fortune, in ſome of his captures, to poſſeſs himſelf of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature,

many of them written by the Viceroy of *Peru* to the Viceroy of *Santa Fee*, to the Presidents of *Panama* and *Chili*, to Don *Blaſs de Lezo*, Admiral of the galeons, and to divers other perſons in public employments; and in theſe letters there was uſually inſerted a recital of thoſe they were intended to anſwer; ſo that they contained a conſiderable Part of the correſpondence between theſe officers for ſome time previous to our arrival on that coaſt: We took beſides many letters ſent from perſons employed by the Government to their friends and correſpondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public buſineſs, and ſometimes contained undiſguiſed animadverſions on the views and conduct of their ſuperiors. From theſe materials thoſe accounts of the *Spaniſh* affairs are taken, which may at firſt ſight appear the moſt exceptionable. In particular, the hiſtory of the various caſualties which befel *Pizarro*'s ſquadron, is for the moſt part compoſed from intercepted letters: Though indeed the relation of the inſurrection of *Orellana* and his followers, is founded on rather a leſs diſputable authority: For it was taken from the mouth of an *Engliſh* Gentleman then on board *Pizarro*, who often converſed with *Orellana*; and it was on enquiry, confirmed in its principal circumſtances by others who were in the ſhip at the ſame time: So that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be conteſted.

And on this occaſion I cannot but mention, that though I have endeavoured, with my utmoſt care, to adhere ſtrictly to truth in every article of the enſuing narration; yet I am apprehenſive, that in ſo complicated a work, ſome overſights muſt have been committed, by the inattention to which at

times all mankind are liable. However, I know of none but literal miſtakes : And if there are other errors which have eſcaped me, I flatter myſelf they are not of moment enough to affect any material tranſaction, and therefore I hope they may juſtly claim the reader's indulgence.

After this general account of the contents of the enſuing work, it might be expected, perhaps, that I would proceed to the work itſelf; but I cannot finiſh this Introduction, without adding a few reflexions on a matter very nearly connected with the preſent ſubject, and, as I conceive, neither deſtitute of utility, nor unworthy the attention of the Public; I mean, the animating my countrymen both in their public and private ſtations, to the encouragement and purſuit of all kinds of geographical and nautical obſervations, and of every ſpecies of mechanical and commerical information. It is by a ſettled attachment to theſe ſeemingly minute particulars, that our ambitious neighbours have eſtabliſhed ſome part of that power, with which we are now ſtruggling: And as we have the means in our hands of purſuing theſe ſubjects more effectually, than they can, it would be a diſhononr to us longer to neglect ſo eaſy and beneficial a practice: For, as we have a Navy much more numerous than theirs, great part of which is always employed in very diſtant ſtations, either in the protection of our colonies and commerce, or in aſſiſting our allies againſt the common enemy, this gives us frequent opportunities of furniſhing ourſelves with ſuch kind of materials, as are here recommended, and ſuch as might turn greatly to our advantage, either in war

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or peace: For, not to mention what might be expected from the officers of the Navy, if their application to theſe ſubjects were properly encouraged, it would create no new expence to the Government to eſtabliſh a particular regulation for this purpoſe; ſince all that would be requiſite, would be conſtantly to embark on board ſome of our men of war, which are ſent on theſe diſtant cruiſes, a perſon, who with the character of an engineer, and the ſkill and talents neceſſary to that profeſſion, ſhould be employed in drawing ſuch coaſts, and planning ſuch harbours, as the ſhip ſhould touch at, and in making ſuch other obſervations of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future Navigators, or might any ways tend to promote the Public ſervice. Beſides, perſons habituated to this employment (which could not fail at the ſame time of improving them in their proper buſineſs) would be extremely uſeful in many other lights, and might ſerve to ſecure our Fleets from thoſe diſgraces, with which their attempts againſt places on ſhore have been often attended: And, in a Nation like ours, where all ſciences are more eagerly and univerſally purſued, and better underſtood than in any other part of the world, proper ſubjects for ſuch employments could not long be wanting, if due incouragement were given to them. This method here recommended is known to have been frequently practiſed by the *French*, particularly in the inſtance of Monſieur *Frezier*, an Engineer, who has publiſhed a celebrated voyage to the *South-Seas*: For this perſon, in the year 1711, was purpoſely ſent by the *French* King into that country on board a merchantman, that he might examine and de-

ſcribe the coaſt, and take plans of all the fortified places, the better to enable the *French* to proſecute their illicit trade, or, in caſe of a rupture with the court of *Spain*, to form their enterprizes in thoſe ſeas with more readineſs and certainty. Should we purſue this method, we might hope, that the emulation amongſt thoſe who were thus employed, and the experience, which even in time of peace, they would hereby acquire, might at length procure us a proper number of able Engineers, and might efface the national ſcandal, which our deficiency in that ſpecies of men has ſome times expoſed us to: And ſurely, every ſtep to encourage and improve this profeſſion is of great moment to the Public; as no perſons, when they are properly inſtructed, make better returns in war, for the encouragement and emoluments beſtowed on them in time of peace. Of which the advantages the *French* have reaped from their dexterity (too numerous and recent to be ſoon forgot) are an ample confirmation.

And having mentioned Engineers, or ſuch as are ſkilled in drawing, and the other uſual practices of that profeſſion, as the propereſt perſons to be employed in theſe foreign enquiries, I cannot (as it offers itſelf ſo naturally to the ſubject in hand) but lament, how very imperfect many of our accounts of diſtant countries are rendered by the relators being unſkilled in drawing, and in the general principles of ſurveying; even where other abilities have not been wanting. Had more of our travellers been initiated in theſe acquirements, and had there been added thereto ſome little ſkill in the common aſtronomical obſervations, (all which a perſon of ordinary talents might attain, with

with a very moderate ſhare of application) we ſhould by this time have ſeen the geography of the globe much correcter, than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been conſiderably leſſened, and the manners, arts and produce of foreign countries would have been much better known to us, than they are. Indeed, when I conſider, the ſtrong incitements that all travellers have to acquire ſome part at leaſt of theſe qualifications, eſpecially drawing; when I conſider how much it would facilitate their obſervations, aſſiſt and ſtrenghthen their memories, and of how tedious, and often unintelligible, a load of deſcription it would rid them, I cannot but wonder that any perſon, that intends to viſit diſtant countries, with a view of informing either himſelf or others, ſhould be unfurniſhed with ſo uſeful a piece of ſkill. And to inforce this argument ſtill further, I muſt add, that beſides theſe uſes of drawing, which are already mentioned, there is one, which, though not ſo obvious, is yet perhaps of more conſequence than all that has been hitherto urged; and that is, that thoſe who are accuſtomed to draw objects, obſerve them with more diſtinctneſs, than others who are not habituated to this practice. For we may eaſily find, by a little experience, that in viewing any object, however ſimple, our attention or memory is ſcarcely at any time ſo ſtrong, as to enable us, when we have turned our eyes away from it, to recollect exactly every part it conſiſted of, and to recal all the circumſtances of its appearance; ſince, on examination, it will be diſcovered, that in ſome we are miſtaken, and others we had totally overlooked: But he that is employed in drawing what he ſees,

is at the ſame time employed in rectifying this inattention; for by confronting his ideas copied on the paper, with the object he intends to repreſent, he finds in what manner he has been deceived in its appearance, and hence he in time acquires the habit of obſerving much more at one view, and retains what he ſees with more correctneſs than he could ever have done, without his practice and proficiency in drawing.

If what has been ſaid merits the attention of Travellers of all ſorts, it is, I think, more particularly applicable to the Gentlemen of the Navy; ſince, without drawing and planning, neither charts nor views of lands can be taken; and without theſe it is ſufficiently evident, that navigation is at a full ſtand. It is doubtleſs from a perſuaſion of the utility of theſe qualifications, that his Majeſty has eſtabliſhed a drawing Maſter at *Portſmouth*, for the inſtruction of thoſe, who are preſumed to be hereafter intruſted with the command of his Royal Navy: And though ſome have been ſo far miſled, as to ſuppoſe that the perfection of Sea-officers conſiſted in a turn of mind and temper reſembling the boiſterous element they had to deal with, and have condemned all literature and ſcience as effeminate, and derogatory to that ferocity, which, they would falſely perſuade us, was the moſt unerring characteriſtic of courage: Yet it is to be hoped, that ſuch abſurdities as theſe have at no time been authoriſed by the Public opinion, and that the belief of them daily diminiſhes. If thoſe who adhere to theſe miſchievous poſitions were capable of being influenced by reaſon, or ſwayed by example, I ſhould think it ſufficient for their conviction to obſerve; that the moſt valuable drawings

ings referred to in the following work, though done with such a degree of skill, that even professed artists can with difficulty imitate them, were taken by Mr. *Peircy Brett*, one of Mr. *Anson*'s Lieutenants, and since Captain of the *Lion* man of war; who, in his memorable engagement with the *Elizabeth* (for the importance of the service, or the resolution with which it was conducted, inferiour to none this age has seen) has given ample proof, that a proficiency in the arts I have been here recommending is extremely consistent with the most exemplary bravery, and the most distinguished skill in every function belonging to the duty of a Sea-officer. Indeed, when the many branches of science are considered, of which even the common practice of navigation is composed, and the many improvements, which men of skill have added to this practice within these few years, it would induce one to believe, that the advantages of reflection and speculative knowledge were in no profession more eminent than in that of a sea-officer: For, not to mention some expertness in geography, geometry and astronomy, which it would be dishonourable for him to be without, (as his journal and his estimate of the daily position of the ship are no more than the practice of particular branches of these arts) it may be well supposed, that the management and working of a ship, the discovery of her most eligible position in the water, (usually stiled her Trim) and the disposition of her sails in the most advantageous manner, are articles, wherein the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly assistant: And perhaps the application of this kind of knowledge to naval subjects may produce as great improve-

ments in ſailing and working a ſhip, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the eaſe and convenience of human life: For when the fabric of a ſhip, and the variety of her ſails are conſidered, together with the artificial contrivances of adapting them to her different motions, as it cannot be doubted, but theſe things have been brought about by more than ordinary ſagacity and invention, ſo neither can it be doubted but that a ſpeculative and ſcientific turn of mind may find out the means of directing and diſpoſing this complicated mechaniſm much more advantageouſly than can be done by mere habit, or by a ſervile copying of what others may perhaps have erroneouſly practiſed in the like emergency: But it is time to finiſh this digreſſion, and to leave the reader to the peruſal of the enſuing work; which, with how little art ſoever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the ſubject, and the utility and excellence of the materials, merit ſome ſhare of the Public attention.

A VOYAGE

A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD,

BY

GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his MAJESTY's Ships.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the equipment of the squadron: The incidents relating thereto, from its first appointment to its setting sail from St. *Helens*.

THE squadron under the Command of Mr. *Anson* (of which I here propose to recite the most material proceedings) having undergone many changes in its destination, its force and its equipment, in the ten

months between its firſt appointment and its final ſailing from St. *Helens*; I conceive the hiſtory of theſe alterations is a detail neceſſary to be made public, both for the honour of thoſe who firſt planned and promoted this enterprize, and for the juſtification of thoſe who have been entruſted with its execution. Since it will from hence appear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards expoſed to, and which prevented it from producing all the national advantages the ſtrength of the ſquadron, and the expectation of the public, ſeemed to preſage, were principally owing to a ſeries of interruptions, which delayed the Commander in the courſe of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmoſt induſtry either to avoid or to get removed.

When in the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1739, it was foreſeen that a war with *Spain* was inevitable, it was the opinion of ſeveral conſiderable perſons then truſted with the Adminiſtration of affairs, that the moſt prudent ſtep the Nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that Crown in her diſtant ſettlements; for by this means (as at that time there was the greateſt probability of ſucceſs) it was ſuppoſed that we ſhould cut off the principal reſources of the enemy, and reduce them to the neceſſity of ſincerely deſiring a peace, as they would hereby be deprived of the returns of that treaſure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

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In pursuance of these sentiments, several projects were examined, and several resolutions taken in Council. And in all these deliberations it was from the first determined, that *George Anson*, Esq; then Captain of the *Centurion*, should be employed as Commander in Chief of an expedition of this kind: And he then being absent on a cruize, a vessel was dispatched to his station so early as the beginning of *September*, to order him to return with his ship to *Portsmouth*. And soon after he came there, that is on the 10th of *November* following, he received a letter from Sir *Charles Wager*, ordering him to repair to *London*, and to attend the board of Admiralty: Where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir *Charles*, that two Squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which however would have some connexion with each other: That he, Mr. *Anson*, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. *Cornwall* (who hath since lost his life gloriously in the defence of his Country's honour) the other: That the squadron under Mr. *Anson* was to take on board three Independent Companies of a hundred men each, and *Bland*'s regiment of Foot: That Colonel *Bland* was likewise to imbark with his regiment, and to command the land-forces: And that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for the sea, they were to set sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to *Java-Head* in the *East-Indies*: That there they were

only to ſtop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of *Manila*, ſituated on *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands : That the other ſquadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. *Anſon*, and was intended to paſs round Cape *Horn* into the *South-Seas*, and there to range along that coaſt ; and after cruizing upon the enemy in thoſe parts, and attempting their ſettlements, this ſquadron in its return was to rendezvous at *Manila*, and there to join the ſquadron under Mr. *Anſon*, where they were to refreſh their men, and refit their ſhips, and perhaps receive further orders.

This ſcheme was doubtleſs extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the Public Service, and at the ſame time the reputation and fortune of thoſe concerned in its execution ; for had Mr. *Anſon* proceeded for *Manila* at the time and in the manner propoſed by Sir *Charles Wager*, he would, in all probability, have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and *Spain*, and conſequently before they had been in the leaſt prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehenſions of their danger. The city of *Manila* might be well ſuppoſed to have been at that time in the ſame defenceleſs condition with all the other *Spaniſh* ſettlements, juſt at the breaking out of the war : That is to ſay, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed ; their cannon diſmounted, or uſeleſs by the

the mouldring of their carriages ; their magazines, whether of military ſtores or proviſion, all empty ; their garriſons unpaid, and conſequently thin, ill-affected, and diſpirited ; and the royal cheſts in *Peru*, whence alone all theſe diſorders could receive their redreſs, drained to the very bottom : This, from the intercepted letters of their Viceroys and Governors, is well known to have been the defenceleſs ſtate of *Panama*, and the other *Spaniſh* places on the coaſt of the *South-Seas*, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration of war. And it cannot be ſuppoſed that the city of *Manila*, removed ſtill farther by almoſt half the circumference of the globe, ſhould have experienced from the *Spaniſh* Government, a greater ſhare of attention and concern for its ſecurity, than *Panama*, and the other important ports in *Peru* and *Chili*, on which their poſſeſſion of that immenſe Empire depends. Indeed, it is well known, that *Manila* was at that time incapable of making any conſiderable defence, and in all probability would have ſurrendered only on the appearance of our ſquadron before it. The conſequence of this city, and the iſland it ſtands on, may be in ſome meaſure eſtimated, from the healthineſs of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extenſive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal Ports in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *China*, and its excluſive trade to *Acapulco*, the returns for which, being made in ſil-

ver, are, upon the loweſt valuation, not leſs than three millions of Dollars *per annum.*

And on this Scheme Sir *Charles Wager* was ſo intent, that in a few days after this firſt conference, that is, on *November* 18, Mr. *Anſon* received an order to take under his command the *Argyle*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, *Wager*, and the *Tryal Sloop*; and other orders were iſſued to him in the ſame month, and in the *December* following, relating to the victualling of this ſquadron. But Mr. *Anſon* attending the Admiralty the beginning of *January*, he was informed by Sir *Charles Wager*, that for reaſons with which he, Sir *Charles*, was not acquainted, the expedition to *Manila* was laid aſide. It may be conceived, that Mr. *Anſon* was extremely chagrined at the loſing the command of ſo infallible, ſo honourable, and in every reſpect, ſo deſirable an enterprize, eſpecially too as he had already, at a very great expence, made the neceſſary proviſion for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reaſon to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir *Charles*, to render this diſappointment in ſome degree more tolerable, informed him that the expedition to the *South-Seas* was ſtill intended, and that he, Mr. *Anſon*, and his ſquadron, as their firſt deſtination was now countermanded, ſhould be employed in that ſervice. And on the 10th of *January* he received his commiſſion, appointing him Commander in Chief of the foremention'd ſquadron, which (the *Argyle* being in the

the courſe of their preparation changed for the *Glouceſter*) was the ſame he ſailed with above eight months after from St. *Helens*. On this change of deſtination, the equipment of the ſquadron was ſtill proſecuted with as much vigour as ever, and the victualling, and whatever depended on the Commodore, was ſo far advanced, that he conceived the ſhips might be capable of putting to ſea the inſtant he ſhould receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And at laſt, on the 28th of *June* 1740, the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Principal Secretary of State, delivered to him his Majeſty's inſtructions, dated *January* 31, 1739, with an additional inſtruction from the Lords Juſtices, dated *June* 19, 1740. On the receipt of theſe, Mr. *Anſon* immediately repaired to *Spithead*, with a reſolution to ſail with the firſt fair wind, flattering himſelf that all his delays were now at an end. For though he knew by the muſters that his ſquadron wanted three hundred ſeamen of their complement, (a deficiency which, with all his aſſiduity, he had not been able to get ſupplied) yet, as Sir *Charles Wager* informed him, that an order from the board of Admiralty was diſpatched to Sir *John Norris* to ſpare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of his complying therewith. But on his arrival at *Portſmouth*, he found himſelf greatly miſtaken, and diſappointed in this perſuaſion: for on his application, Sir *John Norris* told him, he could ſpare him none, for he wanted men for his own

fleet. This occaſioned an inevitable and a very conſiderable delay; for it was the end of *July* before this deficiency was by any means ſupplied, and all that was then done was extremely ſhort of his neceſſities and expectation. For Admiral *Balchen*, who ſucceeded to the command at *Spithead*, after Sir *John Norris* had ſailed to the weſtward, inſtead of three hundred able ſailors, which Mr. *Anſon* wanted of his complement, ordered on board the ſquadron a hundred and ſeventy men only; of which thirty-two were from the hoſpital and ſick quarters, thirty-ſeven from the *Saliſbury*, with three officers of Colonel *Lowther*'s regiment, and ninety-eight marines, and theſe were all that were ever granted to make up the forementioned deficiency.

But the Commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already obſerved, that it was at firſt intended that Colonel *Bland*'s regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, ſhould embark as land-forces on board the ſquadron. But this diſpoſition was now changed, and all the land-forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids to be collected from the out-penſioners of *Chelſea* college. As theſe out-penſioners conſiſt of ſoldiers, who from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of ſervice in marching regiments, Mr. *Anſon* was greatly chagrined at having ſuch a decrepid detachment allotted him; for he was fully perſuaded that the greateſt part of them would periſh long before they arrived

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at the ſcene of action, ſince the delays he had already encountered, neceſſarily confined his paſſage round Cape *Horn* to the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year. Sir *Charles Wager* too joined in opinion with the Commodore, that invalids were no ways proper for this ſervice, and ſollicited ſtrenuouſly to have them exchanged; but he was told that perſons, who were ſuppoſed to be better judges of ſoldiers than he or Mr. *Anſon*, thought them the propereſt men that could be employed on this occaſion. And upon this determination they were ordered on board the ſquadron on the 5th of *Auguſt:* But inſtead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine; for all thoſe who had limbs and ſtrength to walk out of *Portſmouth* deſerted, leaving behind them only ſuch as were literally invalids, moſt of them being ſixty years of age, and ſome of them upwards of ſeventy. Indeed it is difficult to conceive a more moving ſcene than the imbarkation of theſe unhappy veterans: They were themſelves extremely averſe to the ſervice they were engaged in, and fully apprized of all the diſaſters they were afterwards expoſed to; the apprehenſions of which were ſtrongly mark'd by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no ſmall degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repoſe into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the ſtrength of their bodies, nor the vigor of their minds, were any ways proportioned, and where, without ſeeing the face of an enemy, or in the leaſt

leaſt promoting the ſucceſs of the enterprize they were engaged in, they would in all probability uſeleſsly periſh by lingring and painful diſeaſes; and this too, after they had ſpent the activity and ſtrength of their youth in their Country's ſervice.

And I cannot but obſerve, on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate is was, both to this aged and diſeaſed detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in; that amongſt all the out-penſioners of *Chelſea* Hoſpital, which were ſuppoſed to amount to two thouſand men, the moſt crazy and infirm only ſhould be culled out for ſo fatiguing and perilous an undertaking. For it was well known, that however unfit, invalids in general might be for this ſervice, yet by a prudent choice, there might have been found amongſt them five hundred men who had ſome remains of vigour left: And Mr. *Anſon* fully expected, that the beſt of them would have been allotted him; whereas the whole detachment that was ſent to him, ſeemed to be made up of the moſt decrepid and miſerable objects, that could be collected out of the whole body; and by the deſertion abovementioned, theſe were a ſecond time cleared of that little health and ſtrength which were to be found amongſt them, and he was to take up with ſuch as were much fitter for an infirmary, than for any military duty.

And here it is neceſſary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this ſquadron. It was propoſed to Mr. *Anſon*, after

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it was reſolved that he ſhould be ſent to the *South-Seas*, to take with him two perſons under the denomination of Agent Victuallers. Thoſe who were mentioned for this employment had formerly been in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, in the *South-Sea* Company's ſervice, and it was ſuppoſed that by their knowledge and intelligence on that coaſt, they might often procure proviſions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms: Theſe Agent Victuallers were, for this purpoſe, to be allowed to carry to the value of 15,000 *l.* in merchandize on board the ſquadron; for they had repreſented, that it would be much eaſier for them to procure proviſions with goods, than with the value of the ſame goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this ſcheme, it was difficult to perſuade the generality of mankind, that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the Agents, by the beneficial commerce they propoſed to carry on upon that coaſt. Mr. *Anſon*, from the beginning, objected both to the appointment of Agent Victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the ſquadron: For he conceived, that in thoſe few amicable ports where the ſquadron might touch, he needed not their aſſiſtance to contract for any proviſions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coaſt, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the neceſſaries he ſhould want, unleſs (which he was reſolved not to comply with) the military operations of his ſquadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous

culous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the Government ought to have done on this occasion, was to put on board to the value of 2 or 3000 *l.* only of such goods, as the *Indians*, or the *Spanish* Planters in the less cultivated part of the coast, might be tempted with; since it was in such places only that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for provisions: And in these places it was sufficiently evident, a very small cargo would suffice.

But though the Commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers, and to their project; yet, as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualling the squadron, might contribute to settling a trade upon that coast, which might be afterwards carried on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by some considerable persons: And of the 15,000 *l.* which was to be the amount of their cargo, the Government agreed to advance them 10,000 upon impress, and the remaining 5000 they raised on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchased with this sum, were all that were taken to sea by the squadron, how much soever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report.

This cargo was at first shipped on board the *Wager* Store Ship, and one of the Victuallers; no part of it being admitted on board the men of war. But when the Commodore was at St. *Catherine's*, he considered, that in case the squadron should

ſhould be ſeparated, it might be pretended that ſome of the ſhips were diſappointed of proviſions for want of a cargo to truck with, and therefore he diſtributed ſome of the leaſt bulky commodities on board the men of war, leaving the remainder principally on board the *Wager*, where it was loſt: And more of the goods periſhing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, and no part of them being diſpoſed of upon the coaſt, the few that came home to *England*, did not produce, when ſold, above a fourth part of the original price. So true was the Commodore's prediction about the event of this project, which had been by many conſidered as infallibly productive of immenſe gains. But to return to the tranſactions at *Portſmouth*.

To ſupply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids which had deſerted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments: Theſe were raw and undiſciplined men, for they were juſt raiſed, and had ſcarcely any thing more of the ſoldier than their regimentals, none of them having been ſo far trained, as to be permitted to fire. The laſt detachment of theſe marines came on board the 8th of *Auguſt*, and on the 10th the ſquadron ſailed from *Spithead* to St. *Helens*, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition.

But the delays we had already ſuffered had not yet ſpent all their influence, for we were now advanced into a ſeaſon of the year, when the weſterly winds are uſually very conſtant, and very

very violent; and it was thought proper that we ſhould put to ſea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral *Balchen*, and the expedition under Lord *Cathcart*. And as we made up in all twenty-one men of war, and a hundred and twenty-four ſail of merchantmen and tranſports, we had no hopes of getting out of the Channel with ſo large a number of ſhips, without the continuance of a fair wind, for ſome conſiderable time. This was what we had every day leſs and leſs reaſon to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; ſo that our golden dreams, and our ideal poſſeſſion of the *Peruvian* treaſures, grew each day more faint, and the difficulties and dangers of the paſſage round Cape *Horn* in the winter ſeaſon filled our imaginations in their room. For it was forty days from our arrival at St. *Helens*, to our final departure from thence: And even then (having orders to proceed without Lord *Cathcart*) we tided it down the Channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the diſpleaſing fatigue of often ſetting ſail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been ſometimes experienced in ſurrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair for the firſt time, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, we got under ſail, and Mr. *Balchen* ſhewed himſelf truly ſolicitous to have proceeded to ſea, but the wind ſoon returning to its old quarter, obliged us to put back to St. *Helens*, not without conſiderable hazard, and ſome damage received by two of the tranſports, who,

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in tacking, ran foul of each other: Beſides this, we made two or three more attempts to ſail, but without any better ſucceſs. And, on the 6th of *September*, being returned to an anchor at St. *Helens*, after one of theſe fruitleſs efforts, the wind blew ſo freſh, that the whole fleet ſtruck their yards and topmaſts to prevent their driving: And, notwithſtanding this precaution, the *Centurion* drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no ſmall danger of driving foul of the Prince *Frederick*, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, moored at a ſmall diſtance under our ſtern; which we happily eſcaped, by her driving at the ſame time, and ſo preſerving her diſtance: Nor did we think ourſelves ſecure, till we at laſt let go the ſheet anchor, which fortunately brought us up.

However, on the 9th of *September*, we were in ſome degree relieved from this lingering vexatious ſituation, by an Order which Mr. *Anſon* received from the Lords Juſtices, to put to ſea the firſt opportunity with his own ſquadron only, if Lord *Cathcart* ſhould not be ready. Being thus freed from the troubleſome company of ſo large a fleet, our Commodore reſolved to weigh and tide it down the Channel, aſſoon as the weather ſhould become ſufficiently moderate; and this might eaſily have been done with our own ſquadron alone full two months ſooner, had the orders of the Admiralty, for ſupplying us with ſeamen, been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of thoſe other delays mentioned in this narration. It is true, our hopes

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of a ſpeedy departure were even now ſomewhat damped, by a ſubſequent order which Mr. *Anſon* received on the 12th of *September*; for by that he was required to take under his convoy the St. *Albans* with the *Turkey* fleet, and to join the *Dragon*, and the *Wincheſter*, with the *Streights* and the *American* trade at *Torbay* or *Plymouth*, and to proceed with them to ſea as far as their way and ours lay together: This incumbrance of a convoy gave us ſome uneaſineſs, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our paſſage to the *Maderas*. However, Mr. *Anſon*, now having the command himſelf, reſolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the Channel with the firſt moderate weather; and that the junction of his Convoy might occaſion as little a loſs of time as poſſible, he immediately ſent directions to *Torbay*, that the fleets he was there to take under his care, might be in a readineſs to join him inſtantly on his approach. And at laſt, on the 18th of *September*, he weighed from St. *Helens*; and though the wind was at firſt contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the Channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the enſuing chapter.

Having thus gone through the reſpective ſteps taken in the equipment of this ſquadron, it is ſufficiently obvious how different an aſpect this expedition bore at its firſt appointment in the beginning of *January*, from what it had in the latter end of *September*, when it left the Channel; and how much its numbers, its ſtrength,

ſtrength, and the probability of its ſucceſs were diminiſhed, by the various incidents which took place in that interval. For inſtead of having all our old and ordinary ſeamen exchanged for ſuch as were young and able, (which the Commodore was at firſt promiſed) and having our numbers compleated to their full complement, we were obliged to retain our firſt crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwiſe made up to us, than by ſending us on board a hundred and ſeventy men, the greateſt part compoſed of ſuch as were diſcharged from hoſpitals, or new-raiſed marines who had never been at ſea before. And in the land-forces allotted us, the change was ſtill more diſadvantageous; for there, inſtead of three independent companies of a hundred men each, and *Bland*'s regiment of foot, which was an old one, we had only four hundred and ſeventy invalids and marines, one part of them incapable for action by age and infirmities, and the other part uſeleſs by their ignorance of their duty. But the diminiſhing the ſtrength of the ſquadron was not the greateſt inconveniency which attended theſe alterations; for the conteſts, repreſentations, and difficulties which they continually produced, (as we have above ſeen, that in theſe caſes the authority of the Admiralty was not always ſubmitted to) occaſioned a delay and waſte of time, which in its conſequences was the ſource of all the diſaſters to which this enterprize was afterwards expoſed: For by this means we were obliged to make our

paſſage round Cape *Horn* in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year; whence proceeded the ſeparation of our ſquadron, the loſs of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total deſtruction: And by this delay too, the enemy had been ſo well informed of our deſigns, that a perſon who had been employed in the *South-Sea* Company's ſervice, and arrived from *Panama* three or four days before we left *Portſmouth*, was able to relate to Mr. *Anſon* moſt of the particulars of the deſtination and ſtrength of our ſquadron, from what he had learnt amongſt the *Spaniards* before he left them. And this was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumſtance: For we ſhall find, that when the *Spaniards* (fully ſatisfied that our expedition was intended for the *South-Seas*) had fitted out a ſquadron to oppoſe us, which had ſo far got the ſtart of us, as to arrive before us off the iſland of *Madera*, the Commander of this ſquadron was ſo well inſtructed in the form and make of Mr. *Anſon*'s broad pennant, and had imitated it ſo exactly, that he thereby decoyed the *Pearl*, one of our ſquadron, within gun-ſhot of him, before the Captain of the *Pearl* was able to diſcover his miſtake.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The paſſage from St. *Helens* to the Iſland of *Madera*; with a ſhort account of that Iſland, and of our ſtay there.

ON the 18th of *September*, 1740, the ſquadron, as we have obſerved in the preceding chapter, weighed from St. *Helens* with a contrary wind, the Commodore propoſing to tide it down the Channel, as he dreaded leſs the inconveniencies he ſhould thereby have to ſtruggle with, than the riſk he ſhould run of ruining the enterprize, by an uncertain, and in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The ſquadron allotted to this ſervice conſiſted of five men of war, a ſloop of war, and two victualling ſhips. They were the *Centurion* of ſixty guns, four hundred men, *George Anſon*, Eſq; Commander; the *Glouceſter* of fifty guns, three hundred men, *Richard Norris* Commander; the *Severn* of fifty guns, three hundred men, the Honourable *Edward Legg* Commander; the *Pearl* of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, *Matthew Mitchel* Commander; the *Wager* of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and ſixty men, *Dandy Kidd* Commander; and the *Tryal* Sloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the Honourable *John Murray* Commander; the two Victuallers were Pinks, the largeſt about four hundred, and the other about two hundred tons burthen, theſe were to attend us, till the proviſions we had taken

on board were ſo far conſumed, as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which, when we had taken into our ſhips, they were to be diſcharged. Beſides the complement of men born by the abovementioned ſhips as their crews, there were embarked on board the ſquadron about four hundred and ſeventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, as has been particularly mentioned in the preceding chapter, which were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Cracherode*. With this ſquadron, together with the St. *Albans* and the *Lark*, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. *Anſon*, after weighing from St. *Helens*, tided it down the Channel for the firſt forty-eight hours; and, on the 20th, in the morning, we diſcovered off the *Ram-Head* the *Dragon*, *Wincheſter*, *South-Sea Caſtle*, and *Rye*, with a number of merchantmen under their Convoy: Theſe we joined about noon the ſame day, our Commodore having orders to ſee them (together with the St. *Albans* and *Lark*) as far into the ſea as their courſe and ours lay together. When we came in ſight of this laſt mentioned fleet, Mr. *Anſon* firſt hoiſted his broad pennant, and was ſaluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this laſt Convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred and fifty ſail of merchantmen, conſiſting of the *Turky*, the *Streights*, and the *American* trade. Mr. *Anſon* the ſame day, made a ſignal for all the Captains of the men of war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and ſailing inſtructions, and then, with a fair

a fair wind, we all ſtood towards the South-Weſt; and the next day at noon, being the 21ſt, we had run forty leagues from the *Ram-Head*, and being now clear of the land, our Commodore, to render our view more extenſive, ordered Captain *Mitchel*, in the *Pearl*, to make ſail two leagues a-head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his ſtation every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the *Wincheſter* and the *American* Convoy made the concerted ſignal for leave to ſeparate, which being anſwered by the Commodore, they left us: As the St. *Albans* and the *Dragon*, with the *Turkey* and *Streights* Convoy, did on the 29th. After which ſeparation, there remained in company only our own ſquadron and our two victuallers, with which we kept on our courſe for the Iſland of *Madera*. But the winds were ſo contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our paſſage thither from St. *Helens*, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a moſt unpleaſing circumſtance, productive of much diſcontent and ill-humour amongſt our people, of which thoſe only can have a tolerable idea, who have had the experience of a like ſituation. And beſides the peeviſhneſs and deſpondency which foul and contrary winds, and a lingring voyage never fail to create on all occaſions, we, in particular, had very ſubſtantial reaſons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment. For as we had departed from *England* much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almoſt all our hopes of ſucceſs in the chance of retrieving

in ſome meaſure at ſea, the time we had ſo unhappily waſted at *Spithead* and St. *Helens*. However, at laſt, on *Monday*, *October* the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in *Madera Road*, in forty fathom water; the *Brazen-head* bearing from us E by S, the *Loo* N N W, and the great Church N N E. We had hardly let go our anchor, when an *Engliſh* privateer ſloop ran under our ſtern, and ſaluted the Commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. And, the next day, the Conſul of the Iſland coming to viſit the Commodore, we ſaluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This Iſland of *Madera*, where we are now arrived, is famous through all our *American* ſettlements for its excellent wines, which ſeem to be deſigned by Providence for the refreſhment of the inhabitants of the Torrid Zone. It is ſituated in a fine climate, in the latitude of 32 : 27 North; and in the longitude from *London* of, by our different reckonings, from 18° ½ to 19° ½ Weſt, though laid down in the charts in 17°. It is compoſed of one continued hill, of a conſiderable height, extending itſelf from Eaſt to Weſt: The declivity of which, on the South-ſide, is cultivated and interſperſed with vineyards; and in the midſt of this ſlope the Merchants have fixed their country ſeats, which help to form an agreeable proſpect. There is but one conſiderable town in the whole Iſland, it is named *Fonchiale*, and is ſeated on the South part of the Iſland,

Iſland, at the bottom of a large bay. This is the only place of trade, and indeed the only one where it is poſſible for a boat to land. *Fonchiale*, towards the ſea, is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, beſides a caſtle on the *Loo*, which is a rock ſtanding in the water at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore. Even here the beach is covered with large ſtones, and a violent ſurf continually beats upon it; ſo that the Commodore did not care to venture the ſhips long boats to fetch the water off, as there was ſo much danger of their being loſt; and therefore ordered the Captains of the ſquadron to employ *Portugueſe* boats on that ſervice.

We continued about a week at this Iſland, watering our ſhips, and providing the ſquadron with wine and other refreſhments. And, on the 3d of *November*, Captain *Richard Norris* having ſignified by a letter to the Commodore, his deſire to quit his command on board the *Glouceſter*, in order to return to *England* for the recovery of his health, the Commodore complied with his requeſt; and thereupon was pleaſed to appoint Captain *Matthew Mitchel* to command the *Glouceſter* in his room, and to remove Captain *Kidd* from the *Wager* to the *Pearl*, and Captain *Murray* from the *Tryal* Sloop to the *Wager*, giving the command of the *Tryal* to Lieutenant *Cheap*. Theſe promotions being ſettled, with other changes in the Lieutenancies, the Commodore, on the following day, gave to the Captains their orders, appointing St. *Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, to be the firſt place of rendezvous

in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the *Centurion* there, to make the best of their way to the Island of St. *Catherine's* on the coast of *Brazil*. The water for the squadron being the same day compleated, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the Island of *Madera*. But before I go on with the narration of our own transactions, I think it necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

When Mr. *Anson* visited the Governor of *Madera*, he received information from him, that for three or four days, in the latter end of *October*, there had appeared, to the westward of that Island, seven or eight ships of the line, and a Patache, which last was sent every day close in to make the land. The Governor assured the Commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the Island had either given them intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them, but that he believed them to be either *French* or *Spanish*, but was rather inclined to think them *Spanish*. On this intelligence, Mr. *Anson* sent an Officer in a clean sloop, eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, to discover what they were: But the Officer returned without being able to get a sight of them, so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a stop

to

to our expedition, which, had they cruiſed to the eaſtward of the Iſland inſtead of the weſtward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For as, in that caſe, they muſt have certainly fallen in with us, we ſhould have been obliged to throw overboard vaſt quantities of proviſion to clear our ſhips for an engagement, and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progreſs. This was ſo obvious a meaſure, that we could not help imagining reaſons which might have prevented them from purſuing it. And we therefore ſuppoſed, that this *French* or *Spaniſh* ſquadron was ſent out, upon advice of our ſailing in company with Admiral *Balchen* and Lord *Cathcart*'s expedition: And thence, from an apprehenſion of being over-matched, they might not think it adviſeable to meet with us, till we had parted company, which they might judge would not happen, before our arrival at this Iſland. Theſe were our ſpeculations at that time; and from hence we had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that we might ſtill fall in with them, in our way to the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands. And afterwards, in the courſe of our expedition, we were many of us perſuaded, that this was the *Spaniſh* ſquadron commanded by Don *Joſeph Pizarro*, which was ſent out purpoſely to traverſe the views and enterprizes of our ſquadron, to which, in ſtrength, they were greatly ſuperior. As this *Spaniſh* armament then was ſo nearly connected with our expedition, and as the cataſtrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force,

force, was yet a considerable advantage to this Nation, produced in consequence of our equipment, I have, in the following chapter, given a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from *Spain* in the year 1740, till the *Asia*, the only ship which returned to *Europe* of the whole squadron, arrived at the *Groyne* in the beginning of the year 1746.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of the ſquadron commanded by Don *Joſeph Pizarro.*

THE ſquadron fitted out by the Court of *Spain* to attend our motions, and traverſe our projects, we ſuppoſed to have been the ſhips ſeen off *Madera*, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. And as this force was ſent out particularly againſt our expedition, I cannot but imagine, that the following hiſtory of the caſualties it met with, as far as by intercepted letters and other information the ſame has come to my knowledge, is a very eſſential part of the preſent work: For by this it will appear we were the occaſion, that a conſiderable part of the naval power of *Spain* was diverted from the proſecution of the ambitious Views of that Court in *Europe*; and the men and ſhips, loſt by the enemy in this undertaking, were loſt in conſequence of the precautions they took to ſecure themſelves againſt our enterprizes. This ſquadron (beſides two ſhips intended for the *Weſt-Indies*, which did not part company till after they had left the *Maderas)* was compoſed of the following men of war, commanded by Don *Joſeph Pizarro:*

The *Aſia* of ſixty-ſix guns, and ſeven hundred men; this was the Admiral's ſhip,

The *Guipuſcoa* of ſeventy-four guns, and ſeven hundred men.

The

The *Hermiona* of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men.

The *Eſperanza* of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men.

The St. *Eſtevan* of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men.

And a Patache of twenty guns.

Theſe ſhips, over and above their complement of ſailors and marines, had on board an old *Spaniſh* regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garriſons on the coaſt of the *South-Seas*. When this fleet had cruiſed for ſome days to the leeward of the *Maderas*, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, they left that ſtation in the beginning of *November*, and ſteered for the river of *Plate*, where they arrived the 5th of *January. O. S.* and coming to an anchor in the bay of *Maldonado*, at the mouth of that river, there Admiral *Pizarro* ſent immediately to *Buenos Ayres* for a ſupply of proviſions; for they had departed from *Spain* with only four months proviſions on board. While they lay here expecting this ſupply, they received intelligence, by the Treachery of the *Portugueſe* Governor of St. *Catherine's*, of Mr. *Anſon*'s having arrived at that Iſland on the 21ſt of *December* preceding, and of his preparing to put to ſea again with the utmoſt expedition. *Pizarro*, notwithſtanding his ſuperior force, had his reaſons (and as ſome ſay his orders likewiſe) for avoiding our ſquadron any where ſhort of the *South-Seas*. He was beſides extremely deſirous of getting round

Cape

Cape *Horn* before us, as he imagined that ſtep alone would effectually baffle all our deſigns; and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we ſhould ſoon be ready to proceed for Cape *Horn*, he weighed anchor with the five large ſhips, (the Patache being diſabled and condemned, and the men taken out of her) after a ſtay of ſeventeen days only, and got under ſail without his proviſions, which arrived at *Maldonado* within a day or two after his departure. But notwithſtanding the precipitation, with which he departed, we put to ſea from St. *Catherine's* four days before him, and in ſome part of our paſſage to Cape *Horn*, the two ſquadrons were ſo near together, that the *Pearl*, one of our ſhips, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and miſtaking the *Aſia* for the *Centurion*, had got within gun-ſhot of *Pizarro*, before ſhe diſcovered her error, and narrowly eſcaped being taken.

It being the 22d of *January* when the *Spaniards* weighed from *Maldonado*, (as has been already mentioned) they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape *Horn* before the equinox; and as they had reaſon to apprehend very tempeſtuous weather in doubling it at that ſeaſon, and as the *Spaniſh* ſailors, being for the moſt part accuſtomed to a fair weather country, might be expected to be very averſe to ſo dangerous and fatiguing a navigation, the better to encourage them, ſome part of their pay was advanced to them in *European* goods, which they were to be permitted to diſpoſe of in the *South-Seas*,

Seas, that ſo the hopes of the great profit, each man was to make on his ſmall venture, might animate him in his duty, and render him leſs diſpoſed to repine at the labour, the hardſhips and the perils he would in all probability meet with before his arrival on the coaſt of *Peru*.

Pizarro with his ſquadron having, towards the latter end of *February*, run the length of Cape *Horn*, he then ſtood to the weſtward in order to double it; but in the night, of the laſt day of *February*, *O. S.* while with this view they were turning to windward, the *Guipuſcoa*, the *Hermiona*, and the *Eſperanza*, were ſeparated from the Admiral; and, on the 6th of *March* following, the *Guipuſcoa* was ſeparated from the other two; and, on the 7th (being the day after we had paſſed *Streights le Maire*) there came on a moſt furious ſtorm at N. W, which, in deſpight of all their efforts, drove the whole ſquadron to the eaſtward, and obliged them, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, to bear away for the river of *Plate*, where *Pizarro* in the *Aſia* arrived about the middle of *May*, and a few days after him the *Eſperanza* and the *Eſtevan*. The *Hermiona* was ſuppoſed to founder at ſea, for ſhe was never heard of more; and the *Guipuſcoa* was run a-ſhore, and ſunk on the coaſt of *Brazil*. The calamities of all kinds, which this ſquadron underwent in this unſucceſsful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourſelves experienced in the ſame climate, when buffeted by the ſame ſtorms. There was indeed ſome diverſity in our

diſtreſſes,

diſtreſſes, which rendered it difficult to decide, whoſe ſituation was moſt worthy of commiſeration. For to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as ſhattered rigging, leaky ſhips, and the fatigues and deſpondency, which neceſſarily attend theſe diſaſters, there was ſuperadded on board our ſquadron the ravage of a moſt deſtructive and incurable diſeaſe, and on board the *Spaniſh* ſquadron the devaſtation of famine.

For this ſquadron, either from the hurry of their outſet, their preſumption of a ſupply at *Buenos Ayres*, or from other leſs obvious motives, departed from *Spain*, as has been already obſerved, with no more than four months proviſion, and even that, as it is ſaid, at ſhort allowance only; ſo that, when by the ſtorms they met with off Cape *Horn*, their continuance at ſea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were thereby reduced to ſuch infinite diſtreſs, that rats, when they could be caught, were ſold for four dollars a-piece; and a ſailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for ſome days by his brother, who, during that time, lay in the ſame hammock with the corpſe, only to receive the dead man's allowance of proviſions. In this dreadful ſituation they were alarmed (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy among the marines, on board the *Aſia*, the Admiral's ſhip. This had taken its riſe chiefly from the miſeries they endured: For though no leſs was propoſed by the conſpirators

than

than the maſſacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody reſolution ſeemed to be no more than their deſire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole ſhips proviſions to themſelves. But their deſigns were prevented, when juſt upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confeſſors, and three of their ringleaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more deſtructive. So that by the complicated diſtreſs of fatigue, ſickneſs and hunger, the three ſhips which eſcaped loſt the greateſt part of their men: The *Aſia*, their Admiral's ſhip, arrived at *Monte Vedio* in the river of *Plate*, with half her crew only; the St. *Eſtevan* had loſt in like manner half her hands, when ſhe anchored in the bay of *Barragan*; the *Eſperanza*, a fifty gun ſhip, was ſtill more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands which ſhe brought from *Spain*, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot periſhed except ſixty men. But to give the reader a more diſtinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occaſion, I ſhall lay before him a ſhort account of the fate of the *Guipuſcoa*, from a letter written by Don *Joſeph Mindinuetta* her Captain, to a perſon of diſtinction at *Lima*; a copy of which fell into our hands afterwards in the *South-Seas*.

He mentions, that he ſeparated from the *Hermiona* and the *Eſperanza* in a fog, on the 6th of *March*, being then, as I ſuppoſe, to the S. E.

of

of *Staten-Land*, and plying to the weſtward; that in the night after, it blew a furious ſtorm at N. W, which, at half an hour after ten, ſplit his mainſail, and obliged him to bear away with his foreſail; that the ſhip went ten knots an hour with a prodigious ſea, and often ran her gangway under water; that he likewiſe ſprung his main-maſt; and the ſhip made ſo much water, that with four pumps and bailing he could not free her. That on the 19th it was calm, but the ſea continued ſo high, that the ſhip in rolling opened all her upper works and ſeams, and ſtarted the butt ends of her planking and the greateſt part of her top timbers, the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll: That in this condition, with other additional diſaſters to the hull and rigging, they continued beating to the weſtward till the 12th: That they were then in ſixty degrees of ſouth latitude, in great want of proviſions, numbers every day periſhing by the fatigue of pumping, and thoſe who ſurvived, being quite diſpirited by labour, hunger, and the ſeverity of the weather, they having two ſpans of ſnow upon the decks: That then finding the wind fixed in the weſtern quarter, and blowing ſtrong, and conſequently their paſſage to the weſtward impoſſible, they reſolved to bear away for the river of *Plate*: That on the 22d, they were obliged to throw overboard all the upper deck guns, and an anchor, and to take ſix turns of the cable round the ſhip to prevent her opening: That on the 4th of *April*, it being calm but a very high ſea, the ſhip rolled ſo

much, that the main-maſt came by the board, and in a few hours after ſhe loſt, in like manner, her fore-maſt and her mizen-maſt; and that, to accumulate their misfortunes, they were ſoon obliged to cut away their bowſprit, to diminiſh, if poſſible, the leakage at her head: That by this time he had loſt two hundred and fifty men by hunger and fatigues; for thoſe who were capable of working at the pumps, (at which every officer, without exception, took his turn) were allowed only an ounce and half of biſcuit *per diem*; and thoſe who were ſo ſick or ſo weak, that they could not aſſiſt in this neceſſary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat; ſo that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps: That, including the Officers, they could only muſter from eighty to a hundred perſons capable of duty: That the South Weſt winds blew ſo freſh, after they had loſt their maſts, that they could not immediately ſet up jury maſts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitudes of 32 and 28, till the 24th of *April*, when they made the coaſt of *Brazil* at *Rio de Patas*, ten leagues to the ſouthward of the Iſland of St. *Catherine*'s; that here they came to an anchor, and that the Captain was very deſirous of proceeding to St. *Catherine*'s if poſſible, in order to ſave the hull of the ſhip, and the guns and ſtores on board her; but the crew inſtantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardſhips they had ſuffered, and the numbers they had loſt, (there being at that time no leſs than thirty dead bodies lying

on

on the deck) they all with one voice cried out *on ſhore*, *on ſhore*, and obliged the Captain to run the ſhip in directly for the land, where, the 5th day after, ſhe ſunk with her ſtores, and all her furniture on board her, but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had ſpared, to the number of four hundred, got ſafe on ſhore.

From this account of the adventures and cataſtrophe of the *Guipuſcoa*, we may form ſome conjecture of the manner, in which the *Hermiona* was loſt, and of the diſtreſſes endured by the three remaining ſhips of the ſquadron, which got into the river of *Plate*. Theſe laſt being in great want of maſts, yards, rigging, and all kind of naval ſtores, and having no ſupply at *Buenos Ayres*, nor in any other of their ſettlements, *Pizarro* diſpatched an advice boat with a letter of credit to *Rio Janeiro*, to purchaſe what was wanting from the *Portugueſe*. He, at the ſame time, ſent an expreſs acroſs the continent to *San Jago* in *Chili*, to be thence forwarded to the Viceroy of *Peru*, informing him of the diſaſters that had befallen his ſquadron, and deſiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal cheſts at *Lima*, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ſhips, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the paſſage to the *South-Seas*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year ſhould be more favourable. It is mentioned by the *Spaniards* as a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, that the *Indian* charged with this expreſs (though it was then the depth of winter, when the *Cordilleras* are eſteemed impaſſable on account

of the ſnow) was only thirteen days in his journey from *Buenos Ayres* to St. *Jago* in *Chili*; though theſe places are diſtant three hundred *Spaniſh* leagues, near forty of which are amongſt the ſnows and precipices of the *Cordilleras*.

The return to this diſpatch of *Pizarro*'s from the Viceroy of *Peru* was no ways favourable; inſtead of 200,000 dollars, the ſum demanded, the Viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that: Though the inhabitants at *Lima*, who conſidered the preſence of *Pizarro* as abſolutely neceſſary to their ſecurity, were much diſcontented at this procedure, and did not fail to aſſert, that it was not the want of money, but the intereſted views of ſome of the Viceroy's confidents, that prevented *Pizarro* from having the whole ſum he had aſked for.

The advice-boat ſent to *Rio Janeiro* alſo executed her commiſſion, but imperfectly; for though ſhe brought back a conſiderable quantity of pitch, tar and cordage, yet ſhe could not procure either maſts or yards: And, as an additional misfortune, *Pizarro* was diſappointed of ſome maſts he expected from *Paraguay*; for a carpenter, whom he entruſted with a large ſum of money, and had ſent there to cut maſts, inſtead of proſecuting the buſineſs he was employed in, had married in the country, and refuſed to return. However, by removing the maſts of the *Eſperanza* into the *Aſia*, and making uſe of what ſpare maſts and yards they had on board, they made a ſhift to refit the *Aſia* and

the St. *Eſtevan*. And in the *October* following, *Pizarro* was preparing to put to ſea with theſe two ſhips, in order to attempt the paſſage round Cape *Horn* a ſecond time; but the St. *Eſtevan*, in coming down the river *Plate*, ran on a ſhoal, and beat off her rudder, on which, and other damages ſhe received, ſhe was condemned and broke up, and *Pizarro* in the *Aſia* proceeded to ſea without her. Having now the ſummer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and ſpeedy paſſage; but being off Cape *Horn*, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a ſwelling ſea, by ſome miſconduct of the officer of the watch the ſhip rolled away her maſts, and was a ſecond time obliged to put back to the river of *Plate* in great diſtreſs.

The *Aſia* having conſiderably ſuffered in this ſecond unfortunate expedition, the *Eſperanza*, which had been left behind at *Monte Vedio*, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to *Mindinuetta*, who was Captain of the *Guipuſcoa*, when ſhe was loſt. He, in the *November* of the ſucceeding year, that is, in *November* 1742, ſailed from the river of *Plate* for the *South-Seas*, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of *Chili*; where his Commodore *Pizarro* paſſing over land from *Buenos Ayres* met him. There were great animoſities and conteſts between theſe two Gentlemen at their meeting, occaſioned principally by the claim of *Pizarro* to command the *Eſperanza*, which *Mindinuetta* had brought round: For *Mindinuetta* refuſed to de-

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liver her up to him ; inſiſting, that as he came into the *South-Seas* alone, and under no ſuperior, it was not now in the power of *Pizarro* to reſume that authority, which he had once parted with. However, the Preſident of *Chili* interpoſing, and declaring for *Pizarro*, *Mindinuetta*, after a long and obſtinate ſtruggle, was obliged to ſubmit.

But *Pizarro* had not yet compleated the ſeries of his adventures ; for when he and *Mindinuetta* came back by land from *Chili* to *Buenos Ayres*, in the year 1745, they found at *Monte Vedio* the *Aſia*, which near three years before they had left there. This ſhip they reſolved, if poſſible, to carry to *Europe*, and with this view they refitted her in the beſt manner they could : But their great difficulty was to procure a ſufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining ſailors of the ſquadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of *Buenos Ayres*, did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to ſupply this defect by preſſing many of the inhabitants of *Buenos Ayres*, and putting on board beſides all the *Engliſh* priſoners then in their cuſtody, together with a number of *Portugueſe* ſmugglers, which they had taken at different times, and ſome of the *Indians* of the country. Among theſe laſt there was a Chief and ten of his followers, which had been ſurprized by a party of *Spaniſh* ſoldiers about three months before. The name of this Chief was *Orellana*, he belonged to a very powerful Tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood

hood of *Buenos Ayres*. With this motly crew (all of them, except the *European Spaniards*, extremely averſe to the voyage) *Pizarro* ſet ſail from *Monte Vedio* in the river of *Plate*, about the beginning of *November* 1745, and the native *Spaniards* being no ſtrangers to the diſſatisfaction of their forced men, treated both thoſe, the *Engliſh* priſoners and the *Indians*, with great inſolence and barbarity; but more particularly the *Indians*, for it was common for the meaneſt officers in the ſhip to beat them moſt cruelly on the ſlighteſt pretences, and oftentimes only to exert their ſuperiority. *Orellana* and his followers, though in appearance ſufficiently patient and ſubmiſſive, meditated a ſevere revenge for all theſe inhumanities. As he converſed very well in *Spaniſh*, (theſe *Indians* having in time of peace a good intercourſe with *Buenos Ayres*) he affected to talk with ſuch of the *Engliſh* as underſtood that language, and ſeemed very deſirous of being informed how many *Engliſhmen* there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the *Engliſh* were as much enemies to the *Spaniards* as himſelf, he had doubtleſs an intention of diſcloſing his purpoſe to them, and making them partners in the ſcheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs, and recovering his liberty; but having ſounded them at a diſtance, and not finding them ſo precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but reſolved to truſt alone to the reſolution of his ten faithful followers. Theſe, it ſhould ſeem, readily engaged to ob-

ſerve his directions, and to execute whatever commands he gave them; and having agreed on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken, they firſt furniſhed themſelves with *Dutch* knives ſharp at the point, which being the common knives uſed in the ſhip, they found no difficulty in procuring: Beſides this, they employed their leiſure in ſecretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of theſe thongs the double-headed ſhot of the ſmall quarter-deck guns; this, when ſwung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a moſt miſchievous weapon, in the uſe of which the *Indians* about *Buenos Ayres* are trained from their infancy, and conſequently are extremely expert. Theſe particulars being in good forwardneſs, the execution of their ſcheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on *Orellana* himſelf. For one of the Officers, who was a very brutal fellow, ordered *Orellana* aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the Officer, under pretence of his diſobedience, beat him with ſuch violence, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and ſtupified for ſome time with his bruiſes and wounds. This uſage undoubtedly heightened his thirſt for revenge, and made him eager and impatient, till the means of executing it were in his power; ſo that within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their deſperate reſolves in the enſuing manner.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal Officers were on the quarter-deck, indulging in the freſhneſs of the night air; the waſte of the ſhip was filled with live cattle, and the forecaſtle was manned with its cuſtomary watch. *Orellana* and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trouzers and the more cumbrous part of their dreſs, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabbin. The Boatſwain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this *Orellana* ſpoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the Chief and the ſix remaining *Indians* ſeemed to be ſlowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached *Indians* had taken poſſeſſion of the gangway, *Orellana* placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry uſed by thoſe ſavages, which is ſaid to be the harſheſt and moſt terrifying ſound known in nature. This hideous yell was the ſignal for beginning the maſſacre: For on this they all drew their knives, and brandiſhed their prepared double-headed ſhot, and the ſix with their Chief, which remained on the quarter-deck, immediately fell on the *Spaniards*, who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of which above twenty were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſabled. Many of the Officers, in the beginning of the tumult, puſhed into the great cabbin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed

ricadoed the door. And of the others, who had avoided the firſt fury of the *Indians*, ſome endeavoured to eſcape along the gangways into the forecaſtle, but the *Indians*, placed there on purpoſe, ſtabbed the greateſt part of them, as they attempted to paſs by, or forced them off the gangways into the waſte. Others threw themſelves voluntary over the barricadoes into the waſte, and thought themſelves happy to lie concealed amongſt the cattle; but the greateſt part eſcaped up the main ſhrouds, and ſheltered themſelves either in the tops or rigging. And tho' the *Indians* attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the forecaſtle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few, who not being killed on the ſpot, had ſtrength ſufficient to force their paſſage along the gangways, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewiſe gave all over for loſt, and in great confuſion ran up into the rigging of the foremaſt and bowſprit.

Thus theſe eleven *Indians*, with a reſolution perhaps without example, poſſeſſed themſelves almoſt in an inſtant of the quarter-deck of a ſhip mounting ſixty-ſix guns, with a crew of near five hundred men, and continued in peaceable poſſeſſion of this poſt a conſiderable time. For the Officers in the great cabbin, (amongſt whom were *Pizarro* and *Mindinuetta*) the crew between decks, and thoſe who had eſcaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own ſafety, and were for a long time incapable

capable of forming any project for ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, and recovering the poſſeſſion of the ſhip. It is true, the yells of the *Indians*, the groans of the wounded, and the confuſed clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obſcurity of the night, had at firſt greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors, which darkneſs, diſorder, and an ignorance of the real ſtrength of an enemy never fail to produce. For as the *Spaniards* were ſenſible of the diſaffection of their preſt hands, and were alſo conſcious of their barbarity to their priſoners, they imagined, the conſpiracy was general, and conſidered their own deſtruction as infallible; ſo that, it is ſaid, ſome of them had once taken the reſolution of leaping into the ſea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the *Indians* had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great meaſure ſubſided; for thoſe, who had eſcaped, were kept ſilent by their fears, and the *Indians* were incapable of purſuing them to renew the diſorder. *Orellana*, when he ſaw himſelf maſter of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-cheſt, which, on a ſlight ſuſpicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greateſt ſecurity. Here he took it for granted, he ſhould find cutlaſſes ſufficient for himſelf and his companions, in the uſe of which weapon they were all extremely ſkilful, and with theſe, it was imagined, they propoſed to have forced the great cabbin: But on opening

opening the cheſt, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no uſe. There were indeed cutlaſſes in the cheſt, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a ſenſible diſappointment to them, and by this time *Pizarro* and his companions in the great cabbin were capable of converſing aloud, through the cabbin windows and port-holes, with thoſe in the gun-room and between decks, and from hence they learnt, that the *Engliſh* (whom they principally ſuſpected) were all ſafe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny; and by other particulars they at laſt diſcovered, that none were concerned in it but *Orellana* and his people. On this *Pizarro* and the Officers reſolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the diſcontented on board ſhould ſo far recover their firſt ſurprize, as to reflect on the facility and certainty of ſeizing the ſhip by a junction with the *Indians* in the preſent emergency. With this view *Pizarro* got together what arms were in the cabbin, and diſtributed them to thoſe who were with him: But there were no other fire-arms to be met with but piſtols, and for theſe they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now ſettled a correſpondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabbin-window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of piſtol cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their piſtols, they ſet the cabbin-door partly open, and fired ſome ſhot amongſt the *Indians* on the quar-

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ter-deck, at first without effect. But at last *Mindinuetta*, whom we have often mentioned, had the good fortune to shoot *Orellana* dead on the spot; on which his faithful companions abandoning all thoughts of farther resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where they every man perished. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and the possession of the quarter-deck regained, after it had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring Chief, and his gallant and unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro having escaped this imminent peril steered for *Europe*, and arrived safe on the coast of *Galicia* in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of *Spain* by above three thousand hands, (the flower of their sailors) and by four considerable ships of war and a Patache. For we have seen, that the *Hermiona* foundred at sea; the *Guipuscoa* was stranded, and sunk on the coast of *Brazil*; the St. *Estevan* was condemned, and broke up in the river of *Plate*; and the *Esperanza* being left in the *South-Seas*, is doubtless by this time incapable of returning to *Spain*. So that the *Asia* only, with less than one hundred hands, may be considered as all the remains of that squadron, with which *Pizzaro* first put to sea. And whoever attends to the very large proportion, which this squadron bore to the whole navy of *Spain*, will, I believe, confess, that had our undertaking been attended with no other advantages than that of

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ruining ſo great a part of the ſea-force of ſo dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a ſufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an inconteſtible proof of the ſervice, which the Nation has thence received. Having thus concluded this ſummary of *Pizarro*'s adventures, I ſhall now return again to the narration of our own tranſactions.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From *Madera* to St. *Catherine's*.

I HAVE already mentioned, that on the 3d of *November* we weighed from *Madera*, after orders had been given to the Captains to rendezvous at St. *Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, in caſe the ſquadron was ſeparated. But the next day, when we were got to ſea, the Commodore conſidering that the ſeaſon was far advanced, and that touching at St. *Jago* would create a new delay, he for this reaſon thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the iſland of St. *Catherine's*, on the coaſt of *Brazil*, to be the firſt place to which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to repair in caſe of ſeparation.

In our paſſage to the Iſland of St. *Catherine's*, we found the direction of the trade-winds to differ conſiderably from what we had reaſon to expect, both from the general hiſtories given of theſe winds, and the experience of former Navigators. For the learned Dr. *Halley*, in his account of the trade winds, which take place in the *Ethiopic* and *Atlantic* Ocean, tells us, that from the latitude of 28° N, to the latitude of 10° N, there is generally a freſh gale of N. E. wind, which towards the *African* ſide rarely comes to the eaſtward of E. N. E, or paſſes to the northward of N. N. E: But on the *American* ſide, the wind is ſomewhat more eaſterly, though moſt commonly even there it is a point or two to the northward of the Eaſt:

That from 10° N. to 4° N, the calms and tornadoes take place; and from 4° N. to 30° S, the winds are generally and perpetually between the South and the East. This account we expected to have verified by our own experience; but we found considerable variations from it, both in respect to the steadiness of the winds, and the quarter from whence they blew. For though we met with a N. E. wind about the latitude of 28° N, yet from the latitude of 25° to the latitude of 18° N, the wind was never once to the northward of the East, but on the contrary, almost constantly to the southward of it. However, from thence to the latitude of 6° : 20′ N, we had it usually to the northward of the East, though not entirely, it having for a short time changed to E. S. E. From hence, to about 4° 46′ N, the weather was very unsettled; sometimes the wind was N. E. then changed to S. E, and sometimes we had a dead calm, attended with small rain and lightning. After this, the wind continued almost inavariably between the S. and E, to the latitude of 7° : 30′ S; and then again as invariably between the N. and E, to the latitude of 15° : 30′ S; then E. and S. E, to 21° : 37′ S. But after this, even to the latitude of 27° : 44′ S, the wind was never once between the S. and the E, though we had it at times in all the other quarters of the compass. But this last circumstance may be in some measure accounted for, from our approach to the main continent of the *Brazils*. I mention not these particulars with a view of cavilling at the received accounts of these trade-winds, which I doubt not are in general

neral ſufficiently accurate; but I thought it a matter worthy of public notice, that ſuch deviations from the eſtabliſhed rules do ſometimes take place. This obſervation may not only be of ſervice to Navigators, by putting them on their guard againſt theſe hitherto unexpected irregularities, but may perhaps contribute to the ſolution of that great queſtion about the cauſes of trade-winds, and monſoons, a queſtion, which, in my opinion, has not been hitherto diſcuſſed with that clearneſs and accuracy, which its importance (whether it be conſidered as a naval or philoſophical inquiry) ſeems to demand.

On the 16th of *November*, one of our Victuallers made a ſignal to ſpeak with the Commodore, and we ſhortened ſail for her to come up with us. The Maſter came on board, and acquainted Mr. *Anſon*, that he had complied with the terms of his charter-party, and deſired to be unloaded and diſmiſſed. Mr. *Anſon*, on conſulting the Captains of the ſquadron, found all the ſhips had ſtill ſuch quantities of proviſion between their decks, and were withal ſo deep, that they could not without great difficulty take in their ſeveral proportions of brandy from the *Induſtry Pink*, one of the Victuallers only: And conſequently he was obliged to continue the other of them, the *Anna Pink*, in the ſervice of attending the ſquadron. And the next day the Commodore made a ſignal for the ſhips to bring to, and to take on board their ſhares of the brandy from the *Induſtry Pink*; and in this, the long-boats of the ſquadron were employed the three following days, that is, till the 19th in the evening, when

the *Pink* being unloaded, ſhe parted company with us, being bound for *Barbadoes*, there to take in a freight for *England*. Moſt of the Officers of the ſquadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ſhip; but ſhe was afterwards, as I have been ſince informed, unhappily taken by the *Spaniards*.

On the 20th of *November*, the Captains of the ſquadron repreſented to the Commodore, that their ſhips companies were very ſickly, and that it was their own opinion as well as their ſurgeons, that it would tend to the preſervation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ſhips were ſo deep, they could not poſſibly open their lower ports. On this repreſentation, the Commodore ordered ſix air ſcuttles to be cut in each ſhip, in ſuch places where they would leaſt weaken it.

And on this occaſion I cannot but obſerve, how much it is the duty of all thoſe, who either by office or authority, have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to this important article, the preſervation of the lives and health of our ſeamen. If it could be ſuppoſed, that the motives of humanity were inſufficient for this purpoſe, yet policy, and a regard to the ſucceſs of our arms, and the intereſt and honour of each particular Commander, ſhould naturally lead us to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method propoſed for maintaining a ſhip's crew in health and vigour. But hath this been always done? Have the late invented plain and obvious methods of keeping our ſhips ſweet and clean,

clean, by a conſtant ſupply of freſh air, been conſidered with that candour and temper, which the great benefits promiſed hereby ought naturally to have inſpired? On the contrary, have not theſe ſalutary ſchemes been often treated with neglect and contempt? And have not ſome of thoſe who have been entruſted with experimenting their effects, been guilty of the moſt indefenſible partiality, in the accounts they have given of theſe trials? Indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that many diſtinguiſhed perſons, both in the direction and command of our fleets, have exerted themſelves on theſe occaſions with a judicious and diſpaſſionate examination, becoming the intereſting nature of the inquiry; but the wonder is, that any could be found irrational enough to act a contrary part, in deſpight of the ſtrongeſt dictates of prudence and humanity. I muſt however own, that I do not believe this conduct to have ariſen from motives ſo ſavage, as the firſt reflection thereon does naturally ſuggeſt: But I rather impute it to an obſtinate, and in ſome degree, ſuperſtitious attachment to ſuch practices as have been long eſtabliſhed, and to a ſettled contempt and hatred of all kinds of innovations, eſpecially ſuch as are projected by landmen and perſons reſiding on ſhore. But let us return from this, I hope not, impertinent digreſſion.

We croſſed the equinoctial with a fine freſh gale at S. E, on *Friday* the 28th of *November*, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of 27° : 59′ W. from *London*. And on the 2d of *December*, in the morning, we ſaw a ſail in the

N. W. quarter, and made the *Glouceſter*'s and *Tryal*'s ſignals to chaſe; and half an hour after, we let our reefs and chaſed with the ſquadron; and about noon a ſignal was made for the *Wager* to take our remaining Victualler, the *Anna Pink*, in tow. But at ſeven in the evening, finding we did not near the chace, and that the *Wager* was very far a-ſtern, we ſhortened ſail, and made a ſignal for the cruiſers to join the ſquadron. The next day but one we again diſcovered a ſail, which, on a nearer approach, we judged to be the ſame veſſel. We chaſed her the whole day, and though we rather gained upon her, yet night came on before we could overtake her, and obliged us to give over the chace, to collect our ſcattered ſquadron. We were much chagrined at the eſcape of this veſſel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice-boat ſent from *Old Spain* to *Buenos Ayres*, with notice of our expedition. But we have ſince learnt, that we were deceived in this conjecture, and that it was our *Eaſt-India* Company's Packet bound to St. *Helena*.

On the 10th of *December*, being by our accounts in the latitude of 20° S, and 36° : 30′ longitude Weſt from *London*, the *Tryal* fired a gun to denote ſoundings. We immediately ſounded, and found ſixty fathom water, the bottom coarſe ground with broken ſhells. The *Tryal* being a-head of us, had at one time thirty-ſeven fathom, which afterwards increaſed to 90: And then ſhe found no bottom, which happened to us too at our ſecond trial, though we ſounded

with

with a hundred and fifty fathom of line. This is the ſhoal which is laid down in moſt charts by the name of the *Abrollos*; and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it; perhaps farther in, it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to ſixty leagues Eaſt of the coaſt of *Brazil*. The next day but one we ſpoke with a *Portugueze* Brigantine from *Rio Janeiro*, bound to *Bahia del todos Santos*, who informed us, that we were thirty-four leagues from Cape St. *Thomas*, and forty leagues from Cape *Frio*, which laſt bore from us W. S. W. By our accounts we were near eighty leagues from Cape *Frio*; and tho', on the information of this Brigantine, we altered our courſe, and ſtood more to the ſouthward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our *Portugueze* intelligence. We found a conſiderable current ſetting to the ſouthward, after we had paſſed the latitude of 16° S. And the ſame took place all along the coaſt of *Brazil*, and even to the ſouthward of the river of *Plate*, it amounting ſometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

If this current is occaſioned (as it is moſt probable) by the running off of the water, accumulated on the coaſt of *Brazil* by the conſtant ſweeping of the eaſtern trade-wind over the *Ethiopic* Ocean, then it is moſt natural to ſuppoſe, that its general courſe is determined by the bearings of the adjacent ſhore. Perhaps too, in

almoſt every other inſtance of currents, the ſame may hold true, as I believe no examples occur of conſiderable currents being obſerved at any great diſtance from land. If this then could be laid down for a general principle, it would be always eaſy to correct the reckoning by the obſerved latitude. But it were much to be wiſhed, for the general intereſts of navigation, that the actual ſettings of the different currents which are known to take place in various parts of the world, were examined more frequently and accurately than hitherto appears to have been done.

We now began to grow impatient for a ſight of land, both for the recovery of our ſick, and for the refreſhment and ſecurity of thoſe who as yet continued healthier. When we departed from St. *Helens*, we were in ſo good a condition, that we loſt but two men on board the *Centurion*, in our long paſſage to *Madera*. But in this preſent run between *Madera* and St. *Catherine's* we have been very ſickly, ſo that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our own ſhip and in the reſt of the ſquadron, and ſeveral of theſe paſt all hopes of recovery. The diſorders they in general labour under are ſuch as are common to the hot climates, and what moſt ſhips bound to the ſouthward experience in a greater or leſs degree. Theſe are thoſe kind of fevers, which they uſually call Calentures: A diſeaſe, which was not only terrible in its firſt inſtance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to thoſe who conſidered themſelves as recovered from it. For it always

left them in a very weak and helpleſs condition, and uſually afflicted with fluxes and tenaſmus's. And by our continuance at ſea all our complaints were every day increaſing, ſo that it was with great joy that we diſcovered the coaſt of *Brazil* on the 18th of *December*, at ſeven in the morning.

The coaſt of *Brazil* appeared high and mountainous land, extending from the W. to W. S. W, and when we firſt ſaw it, it was about ſeventeen leagues diſtant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing W. S. W. about ten leagues diſtant, which we took to be the Iſland of St. *Catherine's*. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being N. N. W, we gained very little to windward, and were apprehenſive of being driven to the leeward of the Iſland; but a little before noon, the next day, the wind came about to the ſouthward, and enabled us to ſteer in between the North point of St. *Catherine's*, and the neighbouring Iſland of *Alvoredo*. As we ſtood in for the land, we had regular ſoundings gradually decreaſing, from thirty-ſix to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this laſt depth of water we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the evening of the 18th, the North Weſt point of the Iſland of St. *Catherine's* bearing S. S. W, diſtant three miles; and the Iſland *Alvoredo* N. N. E, diſtant two leagues. Here we found the tide to ſet S. S. E. and N. N. W, at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the ſouthward. We could from our

ſhips obſerve two fortifications at a conſiderable diſtance within us, which ſeemed deſigned to prevent the paſſage of an enemy between the Iſland of St. *Catherine*'s and the main. And we could ſoon perceive that our ſquadron had alarmed the coaſt, for we ſaw the two forts hoiſt their colours, and fire ſeveral guns, which we ſuppoſed to be intended for aſſembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confuſion, the Commodore immediately ſent a boat with an Officer on ſhore, to compliment the Governor, and to deſire a Pilot to carry us into the road. The Governor returned a very civil anſwer, and ordered us a Pilot. On the morning of the 20th we weighed and ſtood in, and towards noon the Pilot came on board us, who, the ſame afternoon, brought us to an anchor in five fathom and an half, in a large commodious bay on the continent ſide, called by the *French*, *Bon Port*. In ſtanding from our laſt anchorage to this place, we every where found an ouzy bottom, with a depth of water firſt regularly decreaſing to five fathom, and then increaſing to ſeven, after which we had ſix and five fathom alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the ſquadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the caſtles of *Santa Cruiz* and St. *Juan*. And now the ſoundings between the Iſland and the Main were four, five and ſix fathom, with muddy ground. As we paſſed by the caſtle of *Santa Cruiz* we ſaluted it with eleven guns, and were anſwered by an

equal

equal number; and at one in the afternoon, the ſquadron came to an anchor in five fathom and a half, the Governor's Iſland bearing N. N. W, St. *Juan*'s Caſtle N. E. ½ E, and the Iſland of St. *Antonio* South. In this poſition we moored at the Iſland of St. *Catherine's* on *Sunday* the 21ſt of *December*, the whole ſquadron being, as I have already mentioned, ſickly, and in great want of refreſhments: Both which inconveniencies we hoped to have ſoon removed at this ſettlement, celebrated by former Navigators for its healthineſs and its proviſions, and for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly aſſiſtance there given to the ſhips of all *European* Nations, in amity with the Crown of *Portugal*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Proceedings at St. *Catherine's*, and a deſcription of the place, with a ſhort account of *Brazil*.

OUR firſt care, after having moored our ſhips, was to ſend our ſick men on ſhore, each ſhip being ordered by the Commodore to erect two tents for that purpoſe: One of them for the reception of the diſeaſed, and the other for the accommodation of the ſurgeon and his aſſiſtants. We ſent about eighty ſick from the *Centurion*, and the other ſhips I believe ſent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As ſoon as we had performed this neceſſary duty, we ſcraped our decks, and gave our ſhip a thorough cleanſing; then ſmoked it between decks, and after all waſhed every part well with vinegar. Theſe operations were extremely neceſſary for correcting the noiſom ſtench on board, and deſtroying the vermin; for from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both theſe nuiſances had increaſed upon us to a very loathſome degree, and beſides being moſt intolerably offenſive, they were doubtleſs in ſome ſort productive of the ſickneſs we had laboured under for a conſiderable time, before our arrival at this Iſland.

Our next employment was wooding and watering our ſquadron, caulking our ſhips ſides and

and decks, overhaling our rigging, and ſecuring our maſts againſt the tempeſtuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our paſſage round Cape *Horn*, in ſo advanced and inconvenient a ſeaſon. But before I engage in the particulars of theſe tranſactions, it will not be improper to give ſome account of the preſent ſtate of this Iſland of St. *Catherine's*, and of the neighbouring country; both as the circumſtances of this place are now greatly changed from what they were in the time of former writers, and as theſe changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reaſon to expect, or than other *Britiſh* ſhips, hereafter bound to the *South-Seas*, may perhaps think it prudent to ſtruggle with.

This Iſland is eſteemed by the natives to be no where above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length; it lies in 49° : 45′ of Weſt longitude from *London*, and extends from the South latitude of 27° : 35′, to that of 28°. Although it be of a conſiderable height, yet it is ſcarce diſcernible at the diſtance of ten leagues, being then obſcured under the continent of *Brazil*, whoſe mountains are exceeding high; but on a nearer approach it is eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed, and may be readily known by a number of ſmall Iſlands lying at each end, and ſcattered along the Eaſt ſide of it. In the plate marked (Plate 1.) there is exhibited a very exact view of the N. E. end of the Iſland, where (*a*) is its N. E. point, as it appears when it bears N. W.

N. W. And (*b*) is the ſmall Iſland of *Alvoredo*, bearing N. N. W, at the diſtance of 7 leagues. The beſt entrance to the harbour is between the point (*a*) and the Iſland of *Alvoredo*, where ſhips may paſs under the guidance of their lead, without the leaſt apprehenſions of danger. The view of this North entrance of the harbour is repreſented in the ſecond plate, where (*a*) is the N. W. end of St. *Catherine's* Iſland, (*b*) *Parrot Iſland*, (*c*) a battery on St. *Catherine's*, and (*d*) a battery on a ſmall Iſland near the continent. *Frezier* has given a draught of this Iſland of St. *Catherine's*, and of the neighbouring coaſt, and the minuter iſles adjacent; but he has by miſtake called the Iſland of *Alvoredo* the Iſle *de Gal*, whereas the true Iſle *de Gal* lies ſeven or eight miles to the North-weſtward of it, and is much ſmaller. He has alſo called an Iſland, to the ſouthward of St. *Catherine's*, *Alvoredo*, and has omitted the Iſland *Maſaqura*; in other reſpects his plan is ſufficiently exact.

The North entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles, and the diſtance from thence to the Iſland of St. *Antonio* is eight miles, and the courſe from the entrance to St. *Antonio* is S. S. W. ½ W. About the middle of the Iſland the harbour is contracted by two points of land to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad; and to defend this paſſage, a battery was erecting on the point of land on the Iſland ſide. But this ſeems to be a very uſeleſs work, as the channel has no more than two fathom

thom water, and conſequently is navigable only for barks and boats; and therefore ſeems to be a paſſage that an enemy could have no inducement to attempt, eſpecially as the common paſſage at the North end of the Iſland is ſo broad and ſafe, that no ſquadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the ſea-breeze is made. However, the Brigadier Don *Joſe Sylva de Paz*, the Governor of this ſettlement, is eſteemed an expert Engineer, and he doubtleſs underſtands one branch of his buſineſs very well, which is the advantages which new works bring to thoſe who are entruſted with the care of erecting them: For beſides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet compleated. The firſt of theſe, called St. *Juan*, is built on a point of St. *Catherine's* near *Parrot Iſland*; the ſecond, in form of a half moon, is on the Iſland of St. *Antonio*; and the third, which ſeems to be the chief, and has ſome appearance of a regular fortification, is on an Iſland near the continent, where the Governor reſides.

The ſoil of the Iſland is truly luxuriant, producing fruits of moſt kinds ſpontaneouſly; and the ground is covered over with one continued foreſt of trees of a perpetual verdure, which from the exuberance of the ſoil, are ſo entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket abſolutely impenetrable, except by ſome narrow pathways which the inhabitants have made

made for their own convenience. Theſe, with a few ſpots cleared for plantations along the ſhore facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the Iſland. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and ſhrubs with which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almoſt without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty; ſo that here is no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, nor plantains. There are beſides great abundance of two other productions of no ſmall conſideration for a ſea-ſtore, I mean onions and potatoes. The proviſions of other kinds are however inferior to their vegetables: There are ſmall wild cattle to be purchaſed, ſomewhat like buffaloes, but theſe are very indifferent food, their fleſh being of a looſe contexture, and generally of a diſagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabaſh on which they feed. There are likewiſe great plenty of pheaſants, but they are much inferior in taſte to thoſe we have in *England*. The other proviſions of the place are monkeys, parrots, and fiſh of various ſorts, which abound in the harbour, and are all exceeding good, and are eaſily catched, for there are a great number of ſmall ſandy bays very convenient for haling the Seyne.

The water both on the Iſland and the oppoſite continent is excellent, and preſerves at ſea as well as that of the *Thames*. For after it has been

been in the caſk a day or two it begins to purge itſelf, and ſtinks moſt intolerably, and is ſoon covered over with a green ſcum: But this, in a few days, ſubſides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as chryſtal, and perfectly ſweet. The *French* (who, during their *South-Sea* trade in Queen *Anne*'s reign firſt brought this place into repute) uſually wooded and watered in *Bon Port*, on the continent ſide, where they likewiſe anchored with great ſafety in ſix fathom water; and this is doubtleſs the moſt commodious road for ſuch ſhips as intend to make only a ſhort ſtay. But we watered on the St. *Catherine*'s ſide, at a plantation oppoſite to the Iſland of St. *Antonio*.

Theſe are the advantages of this Iſland of St. *Catherine's*; but there are many inconveniencies attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government eſtabliſhed there. With regard to the climate, it muſt be remembred, that the woods and hills which ſurround the harbour, prevent a free circulation of the air. And the vigorous vegetation which conſtantly takes place there, furniſhes ſuch a prodigious quantity of vapour, that all the night and a great part of the morning a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the ſun gathers ſtrength to diſſipate it, or it is diſperſed by a briſk ſea-breeze. This renders the place cloſe and humid, and probably occaſioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To

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theſe exceptions I muſt not omit to add, that all the day we were peſtered with great numbers of muſcatos, which are not much unlike the gnats in *England*, but more venemous in their ſtings. And at ſun-ſet, when the muſcatos retired, they were ſucceeded by an infinity of ſand-flies, which, though ſcarce diſcernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and wherever they bite raiſe a ſmall bump in the fleſh, which is ſoon attended with a painful itching, like that ariſing from the bite of an *Engliſh* harveſt bug.

But as the only light in which this place deſerves our conſideration, is its favourable ſituation for ſupplying and refreſhing our cruiſers intended for the *South-Seas*: In this view its greateſt inconveniencies remain ſtill to be related; and to do this more diſtinctly, it will not be amiſs to conſider the changes which it has lately undergone, both in its inhabitants, its police, and its governor.

In the time of *Frezier* and *Shelvocke*, this place ſerved only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of *Brazil*. They did indeed acknowledge a ſubjection to the Crown of *Portugal*, and had a perſon among them whom they called their Captain, who was conſidered in ſome ſort as their Governor: But both their allegiance to their King, and their obedience to their Captain, ſeemed to be little more than verbal. For as they had plenty of proviſions but no money, they were in a condition to ſupport themſelves without the aſſiſtance of any neighbouring ſettlements, and had not amongſt them the means of

tempt-

ing any adjacent Governor to buſy his authority about them. In this ſituation they were extremely hoſpitable and friendly to ſuch foreign ſhips as came amongſt them. For theſe ſhips wanted only proviſions, of which the natives had great ſtore; and the natives wanting clothes, (for they often deſpiſed money, and refuſed to take it) which the ſhips furniſhed them with in exchange for their proviſions, both ſides found their account in this traffic; and their Captain or Governor had neither power nor intereſt to reſtrain it or to tax it. But of late (for reaſons which ſhall be hereafter mentioned) theſe honeſt vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongſt them a new colony, and to ſubmit to new laws and government. Inſtead of their former ragged bare legged Captain (whom however they took care to keep innocent) they have now the honour to be governed by Don *Joſe Sylva de Paz*, a Brigadier of the armies of *Portugal*. This Gentleman has with him a garriſon of ſolders, and has conſequently a more extenſive and better ſupported power than any of his predeceſſors, and as he wears better clothes, and lives more ſplendidly, and has beſides a much better knowledge of the importance of money than they could ever pretend to: So he puts in practice certain methods of procuring it, with which they were utterly unacquainted. But it may be much doubted, if the inhabitants conſider theſe methods as tending to promote either their intereſts, or that of their Sovereign the King of *Portugal*. This is certain, that his behaviour cannot but be ex-

tremely embarraſſing to ſuch *Britiſh* ſhips as touch there in their way to the *South-Seas*. For one of his practices was placing centinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from ſelling us any refreſhments, except at ſuch exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary ſtretch of power was, that he was obliged to preſerve their proviſions for upwards of an hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. Hence he appears to be no novice in his profeſſion, by his readineſs at inventing a plauſible pretence for his intereſted management. However, this, though ſufficiently provoking, was far from being the moſt exceptionable part of his conduct. For by the neighbourhood of the river *Plate*, a conſiderable ſmuggling traffic is carried on between the *Portugueſe* and the *Spaniards*, eſpecially in the exchanging gold for ſilver, by which both Princes are defrauded of their fifths, and in this prohibited commerce Don *Joſe* was ſo deeply engaged, that in order to ingratiate himſelf with his *Spaniſh* correſpondents (for no other reaſon can be given for his procedure) he treacherouſly diſpatched an expreſs to *Buenos Ayres* in the river of *Plate*, where *Pizarro* then lay, with an account of our arrival, and of the ſtrength of our ſquadron; particularly the number of ſhips, guns and men, and every circumſtance which he could ſuppoſe our enemy deſirous of being acquainted with. And the ſame perfidy every *Britiſh* cruizer may expect, who touches at St. *Catherine*'s, while it is under the Government of Don *Joſe Sylva de Paz*.

Thus much, with what we ſhall be neceſſitated to relate in the courſe of our own proceedings may ſuffice as to the preſent ſtate of St. *Catherine's*, and the character of its Governor. But as the reader may be deſirous of knowing to what cauſes the late new modelling of this ſettlement is owing; to ſatisfy him in this particular, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the adjacent continent of *Brazil*, and of the wonderful diſcoveries which have been made there within this laſt forty years, which, from a country of but mean eſtimation, has rendered it now perhaps the moſt conſiderable colony on the face of the globe.

This country was firſt diſcovered by *Americus Veſputio* a *Florentine*, who had the good fortune to be honoured with giving his name to the immenſe continent, ſome time before found out by *Columbus*: He being in the ſervice of the *Portugueſe*, it was ſettled and planted by that Nation, and with the other dominions of *Portugal*, devolved to the Crown of *Spain*, when that Kingdom became ſubject to it. During the long war between *Spain* and the State of *Holland*, the *Dutch* poſſeſſed themſelves of the northermoſt part of *Brazil*, and were maſters of it for ſome years. But when the *Portugueſe* revolted from the *Spaniſh* Government, this country took part in the revolt, and ſoon repoſſeſſed themſelves of the places the *Dutch* had taken; ſince which time it has continued without interruption under the Crown of *Portugal*, being, till the beginning of the preſent century, only productive of ſugar, and tobacco, and a few other commodities of very little account.

But this country, which for many years was only conſidered for the produce of its plantations, has been lately diſcovered to abound with the two minerals, which mankind hold in the greateſt eſteem, and which they exert their utmoſt art and induſtry in acquiring, I mean, gold and diamonds. Gold was firſt found in the mountains, which lie adjacent to the city of *Rio Janeiro*. The occaſion of its diſcovery is variouſly related, but the moſt common account is, that the *Indians*, lying on the back of the *Portugueſe* ſettlements, were obſerved by the ſoldiers employed in an expedition againſt them to make uſe of this metal for their fiſh hooks; and their manner of procuring it being enquired into, it appeared that great quantities of it were annually waſhed from the hills, and left amongſt the ſand and gravel, which remained in the vallies after the running off, or evaporation of the water. It is now little more than forty years ſince any quantities of gold worth notice have been imported to *Europe* from *Brazil*; but ſince that time the annual imports from thence have been continually augmented by the diſcovery of places in other provinces, where it is to be met with as plentifully as at firſt about *Rio Janeiro*. And it is now ſaid, that there is a ſmall ſlender vein of it ſpread through all the country, at about twenty-four feet from the ſurface, but that this vein is too thin and poor to anſwer the expence of digging; however where the rivers or rains have had any courſe for a conſiderable time, there gold is always to be collected, the water having ſeparated the metal

tal from the earth, and depoſited it in the ſands, thereby ſaving the expences of digging: So that it is eſteemed an infallible gain to be able to divert a ſtream from its channel, and to ranſack its bed. From this account of gathering this metal, it ſhould follow, that there are properly no gold mines in *Brazil*; and this the Governor of *Rio Grande* (who being at St. *Catherine's*, frequently viſited Mr. *Anſon*) did moſt confidently affirm, aſſuring us, that the gold was all collected either from rivers, or from the beds of torrents after floods. It is indeed aſſerted, that in the mountains, large rocks are found abounding with this metal; and I myſelf have ſeen the fragment of one of theſe rocks with a conſiderable lump of gold intangled in it; but even in this caſe, the workmen break off the rocks, and do not properly mine into them; and the great expence in ſubſiſting among theſe mountains, and afterwards in ſeparating the metal from the ſtone, makes this method of procuring gold to be but rarely put in practice.

The examining the bottoms of rivers, and the gullies of torrents, and the waſhing the gold found therein from the ſand and dirt, with which it is always mixed, are works performed by ſlaves, who are principally Negroes, kept in great numbers by the *Portugueſe* for theſe purpoſes. The regulation of the duty of theſe ſlaves is ſingular: For they are each of them obliged to furniſh their maſter with the eighth part of an ounce of gold *per diem*; and if they are either ſo fortunate or induſtrious as to collect a greater quantity, the

ſurplus is conſidered as their own property, and they have the liberty of diſpoſing of it as they think fit. So that it is ſaid ſome Negroes who have accidentally fallen upon rich waſhing places have themſelves purchaſed ſlaves, and have lived afterwards in great ſplendor, their original maſter having no other demand on them than the daily ſupply of the forementioned eighth; which as the *Portugueſe* ounce is ſomewhat lighter than our troy ounce, may amount to about nine ſhillings ſterling.

The quantity of gold thus collected in the *Brazils*, and returned annually to *Liſbon*, may be in ſome degree eſtimated from the amount of the King's fifth. This hath of late been eſteemed one year with another to be one hundred and fifty arroves of 32 *l. Portugueſe* weight, each of which, at 4 *l.* the troy ounce, makes very near 300,000 *l.* ſterling and conſequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about a million and a half ſterling. And the annual return of gold to *Liſbon* cannot be leſs than this, though it be difficult to determine how much it exceeds it; perhaps we may not be very much miſtaken in our conjecture, if we ſuppoſe the gold exchanged for ſilver with the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres*, and what is brought privily to *Europe*, and eſcapes the duty, amounts to near half a million more, which will make the whole annual produce of the *Braſilian* gold near two millions ſterling; a prodigious ſum to be found in a country, which a few years ſince was not known to furniſh a ſingle grain.

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I have already mentioned, that beſides gold, this country does likewiſe produce diamonds. The diſcovery of theſe valuable ſtones is much more recent than that of gold, it being as yet ſcarce twenty years ſince the firſt were brought to *Europe*. They are found in the ſame manner as the gold, in the gullies of torrents and beds of rivers, but only in particular places, and not ſo univerſally ſpread through the country. They were often found in waſhing the gold before they were known to be diamonds, and were conſequently thrown away with the ſand and gravel ſeparated from it. And it is very well remembered, that numbers of very large ſtones, which would have made the fortunes of the poſſeſſors, have paſſed unregarded through the hands of thoſe, who now with impatience ſupport the mortifying reflection. However, about twenty years ſince, a perſon acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds, conceived that theſe pebbles, as they were then eſteemed, were of the ſame kind: But it is ſaid, that there was a conſiderable interval between the firſt ſtarting of this opinion, and the confirmation of it by proper trials and examination, it proving difficult to perſuade the inhabitants, that what they had been long accuſtomed to deſpiſe, could be of the importance repreſented by the diſcovery; and I have been informed, that in this interval, a Governor of one of their places procured a good number of theſe ſtones, which he pretended to make uſe of at cards to mark with, in-

ſtead of counters. But to proceed: It was at laſt confirmed by ſkilful Jewellers in *Europe*, conſulted on this occaſion, that the ſtones thus found in *Brazil* were truly diamonds, many of which were not inferiour either in luſtre, or any other quality to thoſe of the *Eaſt-Indies*. On this determination the *Portugueſe*, in the neighbourhood of thoſe places where they had firſt been obſerved, ſet themſelves to ſearch for them with great aſſiduity. And they were not without great hopes of diſcovering conſiderable maſſes of them, as they found large rocks of chryſtal in many of the mountains, from whence the ſtreams came which waſhed down the diamonds.

But it was ſoon repreſented to the King of *Portugal*, that if ſuch plenty of diamonds ſhould be met with as their ſanguine conjectures ſeemed to indicate, this would ſo debaſe their value, and diminiſh their eſtimation, that beſides ruining all the *Europeans*, who had any quantity of *Indian* diamonds in their poſſeſſion, it would render the diſcovery itſelf of no importance, and would prevent his Majeſty from receiving any advantages from it. And on theſe conſiderations his Majeſty has thought proper to reſtrain the general ſearch of diamonds, and has erected a Diamond Company for that purpoſe, with an excluſive charter. This Company, in conſideration of a ſum paid by them to the King, have the property of all diamonds found in *Brazil*: But to hinder their collecting too large quantities, and thereby debaſing their value, they are

prohibited from employing above eight hundred ſlaves in ſearching after them. And to prevent any of his other ſubjects from acting the ſame part, and likewiſe to ſecure the Company from being defrauded by the interfering of interlopers in their trade, he has depopulated a large town, and a conſiderable diſtrict round it, and has obliged the inhabitants, who are ſaid to amount to ſix thouſand, to remove to another part of the country; for this town being in the neighbourhood of the diamonds, it was thought impoſſible to prevent ſuch a number of people, who were on the ſpot, from frequently ſmuggling.

In conſequence of theſe important diſcoveries in *Brazil*, new laws, new governments, and new regulations have been eſtabliſhed in many parts of the country. For not long ſince, a conſiderable tract, poſſeſſed by a ſet of inhabitants, who from their principal ſettlement were called *Pauliſts*, was almoſt independent of the Crown of *Portugal*, to which they ſcarcely acknowledged more than a nominal allegiance. Theſe are ſaid to be deſcendants of thoſe *Portugueſe*, who retired from the northern part of *Brazil*, when it was invaded and poſſeſſed by the *Dutch*. And being for a long time neglected and obliged to provide for their own ſecurity and defence, the neceſſity of their affairs produced a kind of government amongſt them, which they found ſufficient for the confined manner of life to which they were inured. And

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therefore rejecting and deſpiſing the authority and mandate of the Court of *Liſbon*, they were often engaged in a ſtate of downright rebellion: And the mountains ſurrounding their country, and the difficulty of clearing the few paſſages that open into it, generally put it in their power to make their own terms before they ſubmitted. But as gold was found to abound in this country of the *Pauliſts*, the preſent King of *Portugal* (during whoſe reign almoſt the whole diſcoveries I have mentioned were begun and compleated) thought it incumbent on him to reduce this province, which now became of great conſequence, to the ſame dependency and obedience with the reſt of the country, which, I am told, he has at laſt, though with great difficulty, happily effected. And the ſame motives which induced his Majeſty to undertake the reduction of the *Pauliſts*, has alſo occaſioned the changes I have mentioned, to have taken place at the Iſland of St. *Catherine's*. For the Governor of *Rio Grande*, of whom I have already ſpoken, aſſured us, that in the neighbourhood of this Iſland there were conſiderable rivers which were found to be extremely rich, and that this was the reaſon that a garriſon, a military Governor, and a new colony was ſettled there. And as the harbour at this Iſland is by much the ſecureſt and the moſt capacious of any on the coaſt, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood anſwer their expectation, but it may become in time the principal ſettlement in

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Brazil, and the moſt conſiderable port in all South *America*.

Thus much I have thought neceſſary to inſert, in relation to the preſent ſtate of *Brazil*, and of the Iſland of St. *Catherine's*. For as this laſt place has been generally recommended as the moſt eligible port for our cruiſers to refreſh at, which are bound to the *South-Seas*, I believed it to be my duty to inſtruct my countrymen, in the hitherto unſuſpected inconveniencies which attend that place. And as the *Brazilian* gold and diamonds are ſubjects, about which, from their novelty, very few particulars have been hitherto publiſhed, I conceived this account I had collected of them, would appear to the reader to be neither a trifling nor a uſeleſs digreſſion. Theſe ſubjects being thus diſpatched, I ſhall now return to the ſeries of our own proceedings.

When we firſt arrived at St. *Catherine's*, we were employed in refreſhing our ſick on ſhore, in wooding and watering the ſquadron, cleanſing our ſhips, and examining and ſecuring our maſts and rigging, as I have already obſerved in the foregoing chapter. At the ſame time Mr. *Anſon* gave directions, that the ſhips companies ſhould be ſupplied with freſh meat, and that they ſhould be victualled with whole allowance of all the kinds of proviſion. In conſequence of theſe orders, we had freſh beef ſent on board us continually for our daily expence, and what was wanting to make up our allowance we received from our Victualler the *Anna Pink*, in order

order to preſerve the proviſions on board our ſquadron entire for our future ſervice. The ſeaſon of the year growing each day leſs favourable for our paſſage round Cape *Horn*, Mr. *Anſon* was very deſirous of leaving this place aſſoon as poſſible; and we were at firſt in hopes that our whole buſineſs would be done, and we ſhould be in a readineſs to ſail in about a fortnight from our arrival: But, on examining the *Tryal*'s maſts, we, to our no ſmall vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a ſurvey, it was found that the main-maſt was ſprung at the upper woulding, though it was thought capable of being ſecured by a couple of fiſhes; but the fore-maſt was reported to be unfit for ſervice, and thereupon the Carpenters were ſent into the woods, to endeavour to find a ſtick proper for a fore-maſt. But after a ſearch of four days, they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpoſe. This obliged them to come to a ſecond conſultation about the old fore-maſt, when it was agreed to endeavour to ſecure it by caſing it with three fiſhes: And in this work the Carpenters were employed, till within a day or two of our ſailing. In the mean time, the Commodore thinking it neceſſary to have a clean veſſel on our arrival in the *South-Seas*, ordered the *Tryal* to be hove down, as this would not occaſion any loſs of time, but might be compleated while the Carpenters were refitting her maſts, which was done on ſhore.

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On the 27th of *December* we discovered a sail in the offing, and not knowing but she might be a *Spaniard*, the eighteen oared-boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second Lieutenant, to examine her, before she arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a *Portuguese* Brigantine from *Rio Grande*. And though our Officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmost civility to the Master, and had refused to accept a calf, which the Master would have forced on him as a present: Yet the Governor took great offence at our sending our boat; and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Portugal*. We at first imputed this ridiculous blustering to no deeper a cause, than Don *Jose*'s insolence; but as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our Officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel, by violence, the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present, (a circumstance which we were satisfied the Governor was well acquainted with) we had hence reason to suspect, that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it, than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not so easy for us to determine at that time; but as we afterwards found by letters, which fell into our hands in the *South-Seas*, that he had dispatched an express

preſs to *Buenos Ayres*, where *Pizarro* then lay, with an account of our ſquadron's arrival at St. *Catherine's*, together with the moſt ample and circumſtantial intelligence of our force and condition, we thence conjectured that Don *Joſe* had raiſed this groundleſs clamour, only to prevent our viſiting the Brigantine when ſhe ſhould put to ſea again, leaſt we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps at the ſame time diſcover the ſecret of his ſmuggling correſpondence with his neighbouring Governors, and the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres*. But to proceed,

It was near a month before the *Tryal* was refitted; for not only her lower maſts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her main top-maſt and fore-yard were likewiſe decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ſhips of the ſquadron fixed new ſtanding rigging, and ſet up a ſufficient number of preventer ſhrouds to each maſt, to ſecure them in the moſt effectual manner. And in order to render the ſhips ſtiffer, and to enable them to carry more ſail abroad, and to prevent their labouring in hard gales of wind, each Captain had orders given him to ſtrike down ſome of their great guns into the hold. Theſe precautions being complied with, and each ſhip having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the *Tryal* was at laſt compleated, and the whole ſquadron was ready for the ſea: On which the tents on ſhore were ſtruck, and all

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the ſick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthineſs of this place had been over-rated by former writers, for we found that though the *Centurion* alone had buried no leſs than twenty-eight men ſince our arrival, yet the number of her ſick was in the ſame interval increaſed from eighty to ninety-ſix. And now our crews being embarked, and every thing prepared for our departure, the Commodore made a ſignal for all Captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the ſucceſſive places of rendezvous from hence to the coaſt of *China*. And then, on the next day, being the 18th of *January*, the ſignal was made for weighing, and the ſquadron put to ſea, leaving without regret this Iſland of St. *Catherine's*; where we had been ſo extremely diſappointed in our refreſhments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place, which hath been ſo much celebrated for its hoſpitality, freedom, and conveniency.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The run from St. *Catherine's* to port St. *Julian*, with ſome account of that port, and of the country to the ſouthward of the river of *Plate*.

IN leaving St. *Catherine's*, we left the laſt amicable port we propoſed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hoſtile, or at beſt, a deſart and inhoſpitable coaſt. And as we were to expect a more boiſterous climate to the ſouthward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of ſeparation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more pernicious nature were likewiſe to be apprehended, and as much as poſſible to be provided againſt. And therefore Mr. *Anſon*, in appointing the various ſtations at which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to rendezvous, had conſidered, that it was poſſible his own ſhip might be diſabled from getting round Cape *Horn*, or might be loſt, and had given proper directions, that even in that caſe the expedition ſhould not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the Captains, the day before we ſailed from St. *Catherine's*, were, that in caſe of ſeparation, which they were with the utmoſt care to endeavour to avoid, the firſt place of rendezvous ſhould be the bay of port St. *Julian*; deſcribing the place from Sir *John Narborough's*

borough's account of it: There they were to ſupply themſelves with as much ſalt as they could take in, both for their own uſe, and for the uſe of the ſquadron; and if, after a ſtay there of ten days, they were not joined by the Commodore, they were then to proceed through *Streights le Maire* round Cape *Horn*, into the *South-Seas*, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the Iſland of *Noſtra Senora del Socoro*, in the latitude of 45° South, and longitude from the *Lizard* 71° : 12′ Weſt. They were to bring this Iſland to bear E. N. E, and to cruiſe from five to twelve leagues diſtance from it, as long as their ſtore of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmoſt frugality. And when they were under an abſolute neceſſity of a freſh ſupply, they were to ſtand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring place; and in caſe they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to ſupply their ſhips by ſtanding off and on, they were then to make the beſt of their way to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, in the latitude of 33° : 37′ South. And as ſoon as they had there recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruiſing off the anchoring place of that Iſland for fifty-ſix days; in which time, if they were not joined by the Commodore, they might conclude that ſome accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themſelves under the command of the ſenior Officer, who was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to annoy the enemy both by ſea and land. That with theſe views their new Com-

modore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were recruited by what he should take from the enemy, reserving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to *Macao*, at the entrance of the river *Tigris* near *Canton* on the coast of *China*, where having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence, without delay, to make the best of his way to *England*. And as it was found impossible as yet to unload our Victualler the *Anna Pink*, the Commodore gave the Master of her the same rendezvous, and the same orders to put himself under the command of the remaining senior Officer.

Under these orders the squadron sailed from St. *Catherine's*, on *Sunday* the 18th of *January*, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning and thunder, but it soon became fair again with light breezes, and continued thus till *Wednesday* evening, when it blew fresh again; and encreasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships length, so that the whole squadron disappeared. On this, a signal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due East. We ourselves immediately handed the topsails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and

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we ſoon diſcovered all the ſhips of the ſquadron except the *Pearl*, who did not join us till near a month afterwards. The *Tryal* Sloop was a great way to leeward, having loſt her main-maſt in this ſquall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We bore down with the ſquadron to her relief, and the *Glouceſter* was ordered to take her in tow, for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then, a great ſwell continued from the eaſtward, in conſequence of the preceding ſtorm.

After this accident we ſtood to the ſouthward with little interruption, and here we experienced the ſame ſetting of the current, which we had obſerved before our arrival at St. *Catherine's*; that is, we generally found ourſelves to the ſouthward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This error continued, with a little variation, till we had paſſed the latitude of the river of *Plate*; and even then, we found that the ſame current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not ſatisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

When we had paſſed the latitude of the river of *Plate*, we had ſoundings all along the coaſt of *Patagonia*. Theſe ſoundings, when well aſcertained, being of great uſe in determining the poſition of the ſhip, and we having tried them more frequently, in greater depths, and with more attention, than I believe had been done

before us, I shall recite our observations as succinctly as I can, referring to the chart hereafter inserted in the ninth chapter of this book, for a general view of the whole. In the latitude of 36° : 52′ we had sixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey sand; from thence, to 39° : 55′, we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had constantly the same bottom as before; between the last mentioned latitude, and 43° : 16′, we had only fine grey sand, with the same variation of depths, except that we once or twice lessened our water to forty fathom. After this, we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarse sand and broken shells, at which time we were in sight of land, and not above seven leagues from it: As we edged from the land we met with variety of soundings; first black sand, then muddy, and soon after rough ground with stones; but then encreasing our water to forty-eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of 46° : 10′. We then returned again in thirty-six fathom, and kept shoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having constantly small stones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape *Blanco*, which lies in about the latitude of 46° : 52′, and longitude West from *London* 66° : 43′. This is the most remarkable land upon the coast: Two very exact views of it are exhibited in the third plate, where (*b*) represents the Cape itself; these draughts will fully enable future Voyagers to distinguish it.

it. Steering from hence S. by E. nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the ſhore with a S. W. courſe, varying rather to the weſtward, we had every where a ſandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a ſight of land diſtant from us, about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of 48° : 31'. We made this land on the 17th of *February*, and at five in the afternoon we came to an anchor upon the ſame bottom, in the latitude of 48° : 58', the ſouthermoſt land then in view bearing S. S. W, the northermoſt N. ¼ E, a ſmall Iſland N. W, and the weſtermoſt hummock W. S. W. In this ſtation we found the tide to ſet S. by W; and weighing again at five the next morning, we, an hour afterwards, diſcovered a ſail, upon which the *Severn* and *Glouceſter* were both directed to give chace; but we ſoon perceived it to be the *Pearl*, which ſeparated from us a few days after we left St. *Catherine's*, and on this we made a ſignal for the *Severn* to rejoin the ſquadron, leaving the *Glouceſter* alone in the purſuit. And now we were ſurprized to ſee, that on the *Glouceſter*'s approach, the people on board the *Pearl* increaſed their ſail, and ſtood from her. However, the *Glouceſter* came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the *Pearl* joined us, and running up under our ſtern, Lieutenant *Salt* hailed the Commodore, and acquainted him

that Captain *Kidd* died on the 31ſt of *January*. He likewiſe informed him, that he had ſeen five large ſhips the 10th inſtant, which he for ſome time imagined to be our ſquadron: That he ſuffered the commanding ſhip, which wore a red broad pennant, exactly reſembling that of the Commodore, at the main top-maſt head, to come within gun-ſhot of him before he diſcovered his miſtake; but then finding it not to be the *Centurion*, he haled cloſe upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his ſail, and ſtanding croſs a ripling, where they heſitated to follow him, he happily eſcaped. He made them to be five *Spaniſh* men of war, one of them exceedingly like the *Glouceſter*, which was the occaſion of his apprehenſions when the *Glouceſter* chaſed him. By their appearance he thought they conſiſted of two ſhips of ſeventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. The whole ſquadron continued in chace of him all that day, but at night finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chace, and directed their courſe to the ſouthward.

And now had it not been for the neceſſity we were under of refitting the *Tryal*, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any ſtay at St. *Julian's*; but as it was impoſſible for that ſloop to proceed round the Cape in her preſent condition, ſome ſtay there was inevitable, and therefore the ſame evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and ſand, and the high hummock baring S. W. by W. And weighing

ing at nine in the morning, we ſoon after ſent the two Cutters belonging to the *Centurion* and *Severn* in ſhore, to diſcover the harbour of St. *Julian*, while the ſhips kept ſtanding along the coaſt, at about the diſtance of a league from the land. At ſix o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. *Julian*, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with ſand, the northermoſt land in ſight bearing N. and by E, the ſouthermoſt S, ½ E, and the high hummock, to which Sir *John Narborough* formerly gave the name of *Wood's Mount*, W. S. W. Soon after, the Cutter returned on board, having diſcovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our ſituation, the northermoſt point ſhutting in upon the ſouthermoſt, and in appearance cloſing the entrance. To facilitate the knowledge of this coaſt to future Navigators, there are two views in the 4th and 5th plates; one of the land of *Patagonia*, to the northward of port St. *Julian*, where (*w*) is *Wood's Mount*, and the bay of St. *Julian* lies round the point (*c*). The other view is of the bay itſelf; and here again (*w*) is *Wood's Mount*, (*a*) is Cape St. *Julian*, and (*b*) the port or river's mouth.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. *Julian*, principally with a view of refitting the *Tryal*, the Carpenters were immediately employed in that buſineſs, and continued ſo during our whole ſtay at the place. The *Tryal*'s main-maſt having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the maſt ſerve again; and the *Wager* was ordered

to ſupply her with a ſpare main top-maſt, which the Carpenters converted into a new fore-maſt. And I cannot help obſerving, that this accident to the *Tryal*'s maſt, which gave us ſo much uneaſineſs at that time, on account of the delay it occaſioned, was, in all probability, the means of preſerving the ſloop, and all her crew. For before this, her maſts, how well ſoever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for theſe high ſouthern latitudes: So that had they weathered the preceding ſtorm, it would have been impoſſible for them to have ſtood againſt thoſe ſeas and tempeſts we afterwards encountered in paſſing round Cape *Horn*, and the loſs of maſts in that boiſterous climate, would ſcarcely have been attended with leſs than the loſs of the veſſel, and of every man on board her; ſince it would have been impracticable for the other ſhips to have given them any relief, during the continuance of thoſe impetuous ſtorms.

Whilſt we ſtayed at this place, the Commodore appointed the Honourable Captain *Murray* to ſucceed to the *Pearl*, and Captain *Cheap* to the *Wager*, and he promoted Mr. *Charles Saunders*, his firſt Lieutenant, to the command of the *Tryal* Sloop. But Captain *Saunders* lying dangerouſly ill of a fever on board the *Centurion*, and it being the opinion of the ſurgeons, that the removing him on board his own ſhip, in his preſent condition, might tend to the hazard of his life; Mr. *Anſon* gave an order to Mr. *Saumarez*, firſt Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, to act as Maſter and Commander

mander of the *Tryal*, during the illneſs of Captain *Saunders*.

Here the Commodore too, in order to eaſe the expedition of all unneceſſary expence, held a farther conſultation with his Captains about unloading and diſcharging the *Anna Pink*; but they repreſented to him, that they were ſo far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had ſtill great quantities of proviſions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ſhips were withal ſo very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the Commodore under a neceſſity of retaining the *Pink* in the ſervice; and as it was apprehended we ſhould certainly meet with the *Spaniſh* ſquadron, in paſſing the Cape, Mr. *Anſon* thought it adviſeable to give orders to the Captains, to put all their proviſions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the *Anna Pink*, and to remount ſuch of their guns as had formerly, for the eaſe of their ſhips, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of St. *Julian*, where we are now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, for all cruiſers bound to the ſouthward, and the whole coaſt of *Patagonia*, from the river of *Plate* to the Streights of *Magellan*, lying nearly parallel to their uſual route, a ſhort account of the ſingularity of this country, with a particular deſcription of port St. *Julian*, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future Navigators,

as ſome of them, by unforeſeen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make ſome ſtay on this coaſt, in which caſe the knowledge of the country, its produce and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmoſt conſequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of country uſually ſtiled *Patagonia*. This is the name often given to the ſouthermoſt part of South *America*, which is unpoſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, extending from their ſettlements to the Streights of *Magellan*. On the eaſt ſide, this country is extremely remarkable, for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe; for though the whole territory to the northward of the river of *Plate* is full of wood, and ſtored with immenſe quantities of large timber trees, yet to the ſouthward of the river no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach-trees, firſt planted and cultivated by the *Spaniards* in the neighbourhood of *Buenos Ayres*: So that on the whole eaſtern coaſt of *Patagonia*, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any diſcoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few inſignificant ſhrubs. Sir *John Narborough* in particular, who was ſent out, by King *Charles* the Second, expreſsly to examine this country, and the Streights of *Magellan*, and who, in purſuance of his orders, wintered upon this coaſt in port St. *Julian* and port *Deſire*, in the year 1670; Sir *John Narborough*, I ſay, tells us, that he never ſaw a ſtick of wood in the country,

country, large enough to make the handle of an hatchet.

But though this country be ſo deſtitute of wood, it abounds with paſture. For the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light dry gravelly ſoil, and produces great quantities of long coarſe graſs, which grows in tufts interſperſed with large barren ſpots of gravel between them. This graſs, in many places, feeds immenſe herds of cattle: For the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres*, having brought over a few black cattle from *Europe* at their firſt ſettlement, they have thriven prodigiouſly by the plenty of herbage which they found here, and are now encreaſed to that degree, and are extended ſo far into the country, that they are not conſidered as private property; but many thouſands at a time are ſlaughtered every year by the Hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing theſe cattle, being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumſtantial deſcription. The Hunters employed on this occaſion being all of them mounted on horſeback, (and both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* in that part of the world are uſually moſt excellent horſemen) they arm themſelves with a kind of a ſpear, which, at its end, inſtead of a blade fixed in the ſame line with the wood in the uſual manner, has its blade fixed acroſs; with this inſtrument they ride at a beaſt, and furround him. The Hunter that comes behind him hamſtrings him; and as after this operation the beaſt ſoon tumbles, without being able to raiſe himſelf again,

they

they leave him on the ground, and purſue others, whom they ſerve in the ſame manner. Sometimes there is a ſecond party, who attend the Hunters, to ſkin the cattle as they fall: But it is ſaid, that at other times the Hunters chuſe to let them languiſh in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguiſh, which the animal in the mean time endures, may burſt the lymphaticks, and thereby facilitate the ſeparation of the ſkin from the carcaſs: And though their Prieſts have loudly condemned this moſt barbarous practice, and have gone ſo far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate thoſe who follow it, yet all their efforts to put an entire ſtop to it have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Beſides the numbers of cattle which are every year ſlaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already deſcribed, it is often neceſſary for the purpoſes of agriculture, and likewiſe with other views, to take them alive, and without wounding them: This is performed with a moſt wonderful and almoſt incredible dexterity, and principally by the uſe of a machine, which the *Engliſh*, who have reſided at *Buenos Ayres*, generally denominate a laſh. It is made of a thong of ſeveral fathoms in length, and very ſtrong, with a running nooſe at one end of it: This the Hunters (who in this caſe are alſo mounted on horſeback) take in their right hands, it being firſt properly coiled up, and having its end oppoſite to the nooſe faſtened to the ſaddle; and thus prepared they ride at a herd

herd of cattle. When they arrive within a certain diſtance of a beaſt, they throw their thong at him with ſuch exactneſs, that they never fail of fixing the nooſe about his horns. The beaſt, when he finds himſelf entangled, generally runs, but the horſe, being ſwifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much ſtrained, till a ſecond Hunter, who follows the game, throws another nooſe about one of its hind legs; and this being done, both horſes (they being trained for this purpoſe) inſtantly turn different ways, in order to ſtrain the two thongs in contrary directions, on which the beaſt, by their oppoſite pulls, is preſently overthrown, and then the horſes ſtop, keeping the thongs ſtill upon the ſtretch: Being thus on the ground, and incapable of reſiſtance, (for he is extended between the two horſes) the Hunters alight, and ſecure him in ſuch a manner, that they afterwards eaſily convey him to whatever place they pleaſe. In the ſame manner they nooſe horſes, and, as it is ſaid, even tygers; and however ſtrange this laſt circumſtance may appear, there are not wanting perſons of credit who aſſert it. Indeed, it muſt be owned, that the addreſs both of the *Spaniards* and *Indians* in that part of the world, in the uſe of this laſh or nooſe, and the certainty with which they throw it, and fix it on any intended part of the beaſt at a conſiderable diſtance, are matters only to be believed, from the repeated and concurrent teſtimony of all who have frequented that country, and might reaſonably be queſtioned, did it rely on a ſingle report, or

had

had it been ever contradicted or denied by any one who had reſided at *Buenos Ayres*.

The cattle which are killed in the manner I have already obſerved, are ſlaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which ſometimes are added their tongues, and the reſt of their fleſh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beaſts; but the greateſt part of this carion falls to the ſhare of the wild dogs, of which there are immenſe numbers to be found in that country. They are ſuppoſed to have been originally produced by *Spaniſh* dogs from *Buenos Ayres*, who, allured by the great quantity of carion, and the facility they had by that means of ſubſiſting, left their Maſters, and ran wild amongſt the cattle; for they are plainly of the breed of the *European* dogs, an animal not originally found in *America*. But though theſe dogs are ſaid to be ſome thouſands in a company, they hitherto neither diminiſh nor prevent the increaſe of the cattle, not daring to attack them, by reaſon of the numbers which conſtantly feed together; but contenting themſelves with the carion left them by the Hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few ſtragglers, who, by accidents, are ſeparated from the herd they belong to.

Beſides, the wild cattle which have ſpread themſelves in ſuch vaſt herds from *Buenos Ayres* towards the ſouthward, the ſame country is in like manner furniſhed with horſes. Theſe too were firſt brought from *Spain*, and are alſo prodigiouſly increaſed, and run wild to a much greater diſtance than the black cattle: And though

though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value; the beſt of them being often ſold, in a country where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a-piece. It is not as yet certain how far to the ſouthward theſe herds of wild cattle and horſes have extended themſelves; but there is ſome reaſon to conjecture, that ſtragglers of both kinds are to be met with very near the Streights of *Magellan*; and they will in time doubtleſs fill the ſouthern part of this Continent with their breed, which cannot fail of proving of conſiderable advantages to ſuch ſhips as may touch upon the coaſt; for the horſes themſelves are ſaid to be very good eating, and as ſuch, to be preferred by ſome of the *Indians* even before the black cattle. But whatever plenty of this kind may be hereafter found here, there is one material refreſhment which this eaſtern ſide of *Patagonia* ſeems to be very defective in, and that is freſh water; for the land being generally of a nitrous and ſaline nature, the ponds and ſtreams are frequently brackiſh. However, as good water has been found there, though in ſmall quantities, it is not improbable, but on a further ſearch, this inconvenience may be removed.

Beſides the cattle and horſes which I have mentioned, there are in all parts of this country a good number of *Vicunnas* or *Peruvian* ſheep; but theſe, by reaſon of their ſlyneſs and ſwiftneſs, are killed with difficulty. On the eaſtern coaſt too, there abounds immenſe quantities of

ſeals.

ſeals, and a vaſt variety of ſea-fowl, amongſt which the moſt remarkable are the *Penguins*; they are in ſize and ſhape like a gooſe, but inſtead of wings they have ſhort ſtumps like fins, which are of no uſe to them except in the water; their bills are narrow, like that of an *Albitroſs*, and they ſtand and walk in an erect poſture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir *John Narborough* has whimſically likened them to little children ſtanding up in white aprons.

The inhabitants of this eaſtern coaſt (to which I have all along hitherto confined my relation) appear to be but few, and have rarely been ſeen more than two or three at a time, by any ſhips that have touched here. We, during our ſtay at the port of St. *Julian*, ſaw none. However, towards *Buenos Ayres* they are ſufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troubleſome to the *Spaniards*; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them a better protection; for in that place the Continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth, whereas at port St. *Julian* it is little more than a hundred: So that I conceive the ſame *Indians*, that frequent the weſtern coaſt of *Patagonia* and the Streights of *Magellan*, often ramble to this ſide. As the *Indians* near *Buenos Ayres* exceed theſe ſouthern *Indians* in number, ſo they greatly ſurpaſs them in activity and ſpirit, and ſeem in their manners to be nearly allied to thoſe gallant *Chilian Indians*, who have long ſet the whole *Spaniſh* power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain

main to this hour independent. For the *Indians* about *Buenos Ayres* have learnt to be excellent horſemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the uſe of fire-arms, which the *Spaniards* are very ſolicitous to keep out of their hands. And of the vigour and reſolution of theſe *Indians*, the behaviour of *Orellana* and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable inſtance. Indeed were we diſpoſed to aim at the utter ſubverſion of the *Spaniſh* power in *America*, no means ſeem more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and aſſiſtance given to theſe *Indians* and thoſe of *Chili*.

Thus much may ſuffice in relation to the eaſtern coaſt of *Patagonia*. The weſtern coaſt is of leſs extent; and by reaſon of the *Andes* which ſkirt it, and ſtretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous ſhore. However, I ſhall be hereafter neceſſitated to make further mention of it, and therefore ſhall not enlarge thereon at this time, but ſhall conclude this account with a ſhort deſcription of the harbour of St. *Julian*, the general form of which may be conceived from the ſketch in the 6th plate. But it muſt be remembered, that the bar which is there marked at the entrance, is often ſhifting and has many holes in it. The tide flows here N. and S, and at full and change, riſes four fathom.

We, on our firſt arrival here, ſent an Officer on ſhore to the ſalt-pond, marked (D) in the plan, in order to procure a quantity of ſalt for

the uſe of the ſquadron, Sir *John Narborough* having obſerved, when he was here, that the ſalt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in *Feburary* there was enough of it to fill a thouſand ſhips; but our Officer returned with a ſample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got; I ſuppoſe the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had deſtroyed it. To give the reader a better idea of this port, and of the adjacent country, to which the whole coaſt I have deſcribed bears a great reſemblance, I have inſerted two very accurate views, (which may be ſeen in the 7th and 8th Plates) one of them repreſenting the appearance of the country, when looking up the river; the other, being a view taken from the ſame ſpot, but the obſerver is now ſuppoſed to turn round oppoſite to his former ſituation, and conſequently this is a repreſentation of the appearance of the country down the river, betwixt the ſtation of the obſerver, and the river's mouth.

CHAP. VII.

Departure from the bay of St. *Julian*, and the paſſage from thence to Streights *Le Maire*.

THE *Tryal* being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. *Julian*, and the ſole occaſion of our ſtay, the Commodore thought it neceſſary, as we were now directly bound for the *South-Seas* and the enemy's coaſts, to regulate the plan of his future operations: And therefore, on the 24th of *February*, a ſignal was made for all Captains, and a Council of war was held on board the *Centurion*, at which were preſent the Honourable *Edward Legg*, Captain *Matthew Mitchel*, the Honourable *George Murray*, Captain *David Cheap*, together with Colonel *Mordaunt Cracherode*, Commander of the land forces. At this Council Mr. *Anſon* propoſed, that their firſt attempt, after their arrival in the *South-Seas*, ſhould be the attack of the town and harbour of *Baldivia*, the principal frontier of the diſtrict of *Chili*; Mr. *Anſon* informing them, at the ſame time, that it was an article contained in his Majeſty's inſtructions to him, to endeavour to ſecure ſome port in the *South-Seas*, where the ſhips of the ſquadron might be careened and refitted. To this propoſition made by the Commodore, the Council unanimouſly and readily agreed; and in conſequence of this reſolution, new inſtructions were

given to the Captains of the ſquadron, by which, though they were ſtill directed, in caſe of ſeparation, to make the beſt of their way to the Iſland of *Nueſtra Senora del Socoro*, yet (notwithſtanding the orders they had formerly given them at St. *Catherine's)* they were to cruize off that Iſland only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the Commodore, they were to proceed, and cruize off the harbour of *Baldivia*, making the land between the latitudes of 40°, and 40° : 30', and taking care to keep to the ſouthward of the port; and, if in fourteen days they were not joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, they were then to quit this ſtation, and to direct their courſe to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The ſame directions were alſo given to the Maſter of the *Anna Pink*, and he was particularly inſtructed to be very careful in anſwering the ſignals made by any ſhip of the ſquadron, and likewiſe to deſtroy his papers and orders, if he ſhould be ſo unfortunate, as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And as the ſeparation of the ſquadron might prove of the utmoſt prejudice to his Majeſty's ſervice, each Captain was ordered to give it in charge to the reſpective Officers of the watch, not to keep their ſhip at a greater diſtance from the *Centurion* than two miles, as they would anſwer it at their peril; and if any Captain ſhould find his ſhip beyond the diſtance ſpecified, he was to acquaint the Commodore with the name of the Officer, who had thus neglected his duty.

Theſe

Theſe neceſſary regulations being eſtabliſhed, and the *Tryal* Sloop compleated, the ſquadron weighed on *Friday* the 27th of *February*, at ſeven in the morning, and ſtood to the ſea; the *Glouceſter* indeed found a difficulty in purchaſing her anchor, and was left a conſiderable way a-ſtern, ſo that in the night we fired ſeveral guns as a ſignal to her Captain to make ſail, but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their beſt bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, *Wood's Mount*, the highland over St. *Julian*, bore from us N. by W. diſtant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathom of water. And now ſtanding to the ſouthward, we had great expectation of falling in with *Pizarro*'s ſquadron; for, during our ſtay at port St. *Julian*, there had generally been hard gales between the W. N. W. and S. W, ſo that we had reaſon to conclude the *Spaniards* had gained no ground upon us in that interval. And it was the proſpect of meeting with them, that had occaſioned our Commodore to be ſo very ſolicitous to prevent the ſeparation of our ſhips: For had we been ſolely intent on getting round Cape *Horn* in the ſhorteſt time, the propereſt method for this purpoſe would have been, to have ordered each ſhip to have made the beſt of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the reſt.

From our departure from St. *Julian* to the 4th of *March*, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather, and ſome rain; and our ſoundings

were generally from forty to fifty fathom, with a bottom of black and grey ſand, ſometimes intermixed with pebble ſtones. On the 4th of *March* we were in ſight of Cape *Virgin Mary*, and not more than ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from it: This is the northern cape of the Streights of *Magellan*, it lies in the latitude of 52° : 21′ South, and longitude from *London* 71° : 44′ Weſt, and ſeems to be a low flat land ending in a point. And for a direction to ſuch ſhips as may, by particular reaſons, be induced hereafter to paſs through thoſe Streights into the *South-Seas*, there is in the 9th plate a very accurate draught of its appearance, where (*a*) repreſents the Cape itſelf. Off this Cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with ſmall breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm, and moſt of the Captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a viſit to the Commodore; but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a ſudden flame, which burſt out on board the *Glouceſter*, and which was ſucceeded by a cloud of ſmoak. However, they were ſoon relieved from their apprehenſions, by receiving information, that the blaſt was occaſioned by a ſpark of fire from the forge, lighting on ſome gunpowder and other combuſtibles, which an Officer on board was preparing for uſe, in caſe we ſhould fall in with the *Spaniſh* fleet; and that it had been extinguiſhed, without any damage to the ſhip.

We

We here found what was conſtantly verified by all our obſervations in theſe high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding ſhort duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain preſage of a ſucceeding ſtorm, for the calm and ſunſhine of our afternoon ended in a moſt turbulent night, the wind freſhning from the S. W. as the night came on, and encreaſing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew ſo hard, that we were obliged to bring to with the ſquadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-ſeven fathom water, with black ſand and gravel; and by an obſervation we had at noon, we concluded a current had ſet us twelve miles to the ſouthward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made ſail again; and ſteering South, we diſcovered in the morning for the firſt time the land, called *Terra del Fuego*, ſtretching from the S. by W, to the S. E. ½ E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable proſpect, it appearing of a ſtupendous height, covered every where with ſnow. And though the drearineſs of this ſcene can be but imperfectly repreſented by any Drawing, yet the tenth plate contains ſo exact a delineation of the form of the country, that it may greatly aſſiſt the reader in framing ſome idea of this uncouth and rugged coaſt. In this Drawing (*a*) is the opening of Streights *Le Maire*, (*b*) Cape St. *Diego*, (1) (2) (3) the three hills,

called the three brothers, and (4) *Montegorda*, an highland which lies up in the country, and appears over the three brothers. We steered along this shore all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathom, with stones and gravel. And as we intended to pass through Streights *Le Maire* next day, we lay to at night, that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate we were soon to be engaged in; with which view, we employed ourselves good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of *March*, we made sail, and at eight saw the land, and soon after we began to open the Streights, at which time Cape St. *James* bore from us E. S. E, Cape St. *Vincent* S. E. ½ E, the middlemost of the three brothers S. and by W, *Montegorda* South, and Cape St. *Bartholomew*, which is the southermost point of *Staten-land*, E. S. E. The appearance of the Streights in this situation, is represented in the eleventh plate, where (*a*) is part of *Staten-land*, (*b*) Cape St. *Bartholomew*, (*c*) part of *Terra del Fuego*, (*d*) port *Maurice*, and (*e*) supposed to be *Valentine's* bay, or the bay of good success. And here I must observe, that *Frezier* has given us a very correct prospect of the part of *Terra del Fuego*, which borders on the Streights but has omitted that of *Staten-land*, which forms the opposite shore. Hence we found it difficult to determine exactly where the Streights lay, till

they

they began to open to our view; and for want of this, if we had not happened to have coasted a considerable way along shore, we might have missed the Streights, and have got to the eastward of *Staten-land* before we knew it. This is an accident that has happened to many ships, particularly, as *Frezier* mentions, to the *Incarnation* and *Concord*; who intending to pass through Streights *Le Maire*, were deceived by three hills on *Staten land* like the three brothers, and some creeks resembling those of *Terra del Fuego*, and thereby over-shot the Streights. To prevent these accidents for the future, there is added, in the 12th Plate, the West prospect of *Staten-land*, where (*a*) is Cape St. *Diego*, on *Terra del Fuego*, (*b*) Cape St. *Bartholomew*, on *Staten land*. This Drawing will hereafter render it impossible for any ships to be deceived in the manner abovementioned, or to find any difficulty in distinguishing the points of land by which the Streights are formed.

And on occasion of this prospect of *Staten-land* here inserted, I cannot but remark, that though *Terra del Fuego* had an aspect extremely barren and desolate, yet this Island of *Staten-land* far surpasses it, in the wildness and horror of its aprearance: It seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the least mixture of earth or mould between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points, which spire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlasting snow; the points themselves are on every side surrounded with frightful precipices, and often overhang in a most

moſt aſtoniſhing manner; and the hills which bear them, are generally ſeparated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been rent by earthquakes; for theſe chaſms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the ſubſtance of the main rocks, almoſt to their very bottoms: So that nothing can be imagin'd more ſavage and gloomy, than the whole aſpect of this coaſt. But to proceed;

I have above-mentioned, that on the 7th of *March*, in the morning, we opened Streights *Le Maire*, and ſoon after, or about ten o'clock, the *Pearl* and the *Tryal* being ordered to keep a-head of the ſquadron, we entered them with fair weather and a briſk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, through they are between ſeven and eight leagues in length. As theſe Streights are often conſidered as the boundary between the *Atlantick* and *Pacifick* Oceans, and as we preſumed we had nothing now before us but an open ſea, till we arrived on thoſe opulent coaſts where all our hopes and wiſhes centered, we could not help flattering ourſelves, that the greateſt difficulty of our paſſage was now at an end, and that our moſt ſanguine dreams were upon the point of being realiſed; and hence we indulged our imaginations in thoſe romantick ſchemes, which the fancied poſſeſſion of the *Chilian* gold and *Peruvian* ſilver might be conceived to inſpire. Theſe joyous ideas were heightened by the brightneſs of the ſky, and the ſerenity of the weather, which was indeed moſt remarkably pleaſing; for tho'

tho' the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildneſs, gave place to none we had ſeen ſince our departure from *England*. Thus animated by theſe deluſions, we travers'd theſe memorable Streights, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending, and juſt ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when the ſquadron would be ſeparated never to unite again, and that this day of our paſſage was the laſt chearful day that the greateſt part of us would ever live to enjoy.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

From Streights *Le Maire* to Cape *Noir*.

WE had ſcarcely reached the ſouthern extremity of the Streights of *Le Maire*, when our flattering hopes were inſtantly loſt in the apprehenſions of immediate deſtruction: For before the ſternmoſt ſhips of the ſquadron were clear of the Streights, the ſerenity of the ſky was ſuddenly changed, and gave us all the preſages of an impending ſtorm; and immediately the wind ſhifted to the ſouthward, and blew in ſuch violent ſqualls, that we were obliged to hand our top-ſails, and reef out main-ſail: The tide too, which hitherto favoured us, now turned againſt us, and drove us to the eaſtward with prodigious rapidity, ſo that we were in great anxiety for the *Wager* and the *Anna Pink*, the two ſternmoſt veſſels, fearing they would be daſhed to pieces againſt the ſhore of *Staten-land*; nor were our apprehenſions without foundation, for it was with the utmoſt difficulty they eſcaped. And now the whole ſquadron, inſtead of purſuing their intended courſe to the S. W, were driven to the eaſtward by the united force of the ſtorm, and of the currents; ſo that next day in the morning we found ourſelves near ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of *Staten-land*, which then bore from us N. W. The violence of the current, which had ſet us with ſo much precipitation to the eaſtward, together with the force and conſtancy of

the weſterly winds, ſoon taught us to conſider the doubling of Cape *Horn* as an enterprize that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though ſome amongſt us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were ſaid to have met with in this undertaking, as little better than chimerical, and had ſuppoſed them to ariſe rather from timidity and unſkilfulneſs, than from the real embarraſſments of the winds and ſeas; but we were ſeverely convinced, that theſe cenſures were raſh and ill-grounded: For the diſtreſſes with which we ſtruggled, during the three ſucceeding months, will not eaſily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by thoſe who ſhall carefully peruſe the enſuing narration.

From the ſtorm which came on before we had well got clear of Streights *Le Maire*, we had a continual ſucceſſion of ſuch tempeſtuous weather, as ſurprized the oldeſt and moſt experienced Mariners on board, and obliged them to confeſs, that what they had hitherto called ſtorms were inconſiderable gales, compared with the violence of theſe winds, which raiſed ſuch ſhort, and at the ſame time ſuch mountainous waves, as greatly ſurpaſſed in danger all ſeas known in any other part of the globe: And it was not without great reaſon, that this unuſual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of theſe waves broke fairly over us, it muſt, in all probability, have ſent us to the bottom. Nor did we eſcape with terror only;

for

for the ſhip rolling inceſſantly gunwale to, gave us ſuch quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the decks, or ſides of the ſhip. And though we were extremely careful to ſecure ourſelves from theſe ſhocks, by graſping ſome fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; ſome of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular, one of our beſt ſeamen was canted over-board and drowned, another diſlocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main-hold and broke his thigh, and one of our Boatſwain's Mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the ſame kind. Theſe tempeſts, ſo dreadful in themſelves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumſtance, were yet rendered more miſchievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at ſometimes afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were ſometimes reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make ſail with our courſes double reefed; and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to ſet our top-ſails; after which, the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an inſtant tear our ſails from the yards. And that no circumſtance might be wanting which could aggrandize our diſtreſs, theſe blaſts generally brought with them a great quantity of ſnow and ſleet, which

caſed

caſed our rigging, and froze our ſails, thereby rendring them and our cordage brittle, and apt to ſnap upon the ſlighteſt ſtrain, adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ſhip, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themſelves with their uſual activity, and even diſabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were indeed endleſs to enumerate the various diſaſters of different kinds which befel us; and I ſhall only mention the moſt material, which will ſufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole ſquadron, during the courſe of this navigation.

It was on the 7th of *March*, as hath been already obſerved, that we paſſed Streights *Le Maire*, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eaſtward by a violent ſtorm, and the force of the current which ſet that way. For the four or five ſucceeding days we had hard gales of wind from the ſame quarter, with a moſt prodigious ſwell; ſo that though we ſtood, during all that time, towards the S.W, yet we had no reaſon to imagine, we had made any way to the weſtward. In this interval we had frequent ſqualls of rain and ſnow, and ſhipped great quantities of water; after which, for three or four days, though the ſeas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate: But, on the 18th, we had again ſtrong gales of wind with extreme cold, and at midnight the main top-ſail ſplit, and one of the ſtraps of the main dead eyes broke. From hence, to the 23d, the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and ſleet, and ſome hard gales; but as the waves did not ſubſide,

ſide, the ſhip, by labouring in this lofty ſea, was now grown ſo looſe in her upper works, that ſhe let in the water at every ſeam, ſo that every part within board was conſtantly expoſed to the ſea-water, and ſcarcely any of the Officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare, that two nights ever paſſed without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came upon them.

On the 23d, we had a moſt violent ſtorm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great ſea; and though we handed the main top-ſail before the height of the ſquall, yet we found the yard ſprung; and ſoon after the foot-rope of the main-ſail breaking, the main-ſail itſelf ſplit inſtantly to rags, and, in ſpite of our endeavours to ſave it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. On this, the Commodore made the ſignal for the ſquadron to bring to; and the ſtorm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top-ſail yard to put the Carpenters at work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new mainſail, we got under ſail again with a moderate breeze; but in leſs than twenty-four hours we were attacked by another ſtorm ſtill more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the neceſſity of lying to under our bare poles. As our ſhip kept the wind better than any of the reſt, we were obliged, in the afternoon, to wear ſhip, in order to join the ſquadron to the leeward, which otherwiſe we ſhould have been in danger of loſing in the night: And as we dared not venture

any

any ſail abroad, we were obliged to make uſe of an expedient, which anſwered our purpoſe; this was putting the helm a weather, and manning the fore-ſhrouds: But tho' this method proved ſucceſsful for the end intended, yet in the execution of it, one of our ableſt ſeaman was canted over-board; and notwithſtanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, we perceived that he ſwam very ſtrong, and it was with the utmoſt concern that we found ourſelves incapable of aſſiſting him; and we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, ſince we loſt ſight of him ſtruggling with the waves, and conceived from the manner in which he ſwam, that he might continue ſenſible, for a conſiderable time longer, of the horror attending his irretrievable ſituation.

Before this laſt mentioned ſtorm was quite abated, we found two of our main-ſhrouds and one mizen-ſhroud broke, all which we knotted, and ſet up immediately; and from hence we had an interval of three or four days leſs tempeſtuous than uſual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almoſt every half hour, to keep our ſquadron together. On the 31ſt, we were alarmed by a gun fired from the *Glouceſter*, and a ſignal made by her to ſpeak with the Commodore; we immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of ſome terrible diſaſter; but we were apprized of it before we joined her, for we ſaw that her main-yard was broke in the ſlings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was

obvious it would prove an hindrance to our ſailing, and would detain us the longer in theſe inhoſpitable latitudes. But our future ſucceſs and ſafety was not to be promoted by repining, but by reſolution and activity; and therefore, that this unlucky incident might delay us as little as poſſible, the Commodore ordered ſeveral Carpenters to be put on board the *Glouceſter* from the other ſhips of the ſquadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmoſt expedition. And the Captain of the *Tryal* complaining at the ſame time, that his pumps were ſo bad, and the ſloop made ſo great a quantity of water, that he was ſcarcely able to keep her free, the Commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ſhip. It was very fortunate for the *Glouceſter* and the *Tryal*, that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days, both before and after; ſince by this means they were enabled to receive the aſſiſtance which ſeemed eſſential to their preſervation, and which they could ſcarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is, on the 1ſt of *April*, the weather returned again to its cuſtomary biaſs, the ſky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freſhen and to blow in ſqualls; however, it was not yet ſo boiſterous, as to prevent our carrying our top-ſails cloſe reefed; but its appearance was ſuch, as plainly prognoſticated that a ſtill ſeverer tempeſt was at hand: And accordingly,

cordingly, on the 3d of *April*, there came on a ſtorm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it laſted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its firſt onſet we received a furious ſhock from a ſea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it ſtove in the quarter gallery, and ruſhed into the ſhip like a deluge; our rigging too ſuffered extremely, for one of the ſtraps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was alſo a main ſhroud and puttock-ſhroud, ſo that to eaſe the ſtreſs upon the maſts and ſhrouds, we lowered both our main and fore-yards, and furled all our ſails, and in this poſture we lay to for three days, when the ſtorm ſomewhat abating, we ventured to make ſail under our courſes only; but even this we could not do long, for, the next day, which was the 7th, we had another gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie to again all night. It was wonderful, that notwithſtanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the ſquadron ſince the breaking of the *Gloucester*'s main-yard: But this wonder ſoon ceaſed; for at three the next morning, ſeveral guns were fired to leeward as ſignals of diſtreſs. And the Commodore making a ſignal for the ſquadron to bring to, we, at day-break, ſaw the *Wager* a conſiderable way to leeward of any of the other ſhips; and we ſoon perceived that ſhe had loſt her mizen-maſt, and main top-ſail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this

diſaſter had ariſen from the badneſs of her iron work; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way, upon the ſhip's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the *Wager*, as her Carpenter had been on board the *Glouceſter* ever ſince the 31ſt of *March*, and the weather was now too ſevere to permit him to return: Nor was the *Wager* the only ſhip of the ſquadron that had ſuffered in the late tempeſt; for, the next day, a ſignal of diſtreſs was made by the *Anna Pink*, and, upon ſpeaking with the Maſter, we learnt that they had broke their fore-ſtay and the gammon of the bow-ſprit, and were in no ſmall danger of having all the maſts come by the board; ſo that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all faſt, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our ſolicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind, to which we had been inceſſantly expoſed for near forty days, we had great conſolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we ſhould ſoon arrive in a more hoſpitable climate, where we ſhould be amply repayed for all our paſt ſufferings. For, towards the latter end of *March*, we were advanced, by our reckoning, near 10° to the weſtward of the weſtermoſt point of *Terra del Fuego*, and this allowance being double what former Navigators have thought neceſſary to be taken, in order to compenſate the drift of the eaſtern current, we eſteemed ourſelves to be well advanced within the limits of the ſouthern Ocean,

and

and had therefore been ever ſince ſtanding to the northward with as much expedition, as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent diſaſters permitted. And, on the 13th of *April*, we were but a degree in latitude to the ſouthward of the Weſt entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*; ſo that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquility of the *Pacifick* Ocean.

But theſe were deluſions which only ſerved to render our diſappointment more terrible; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were ſtanding to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the *Pink* made a ſignal for ſeeing land right a-head; and it being but two miles diſtant, we were all under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of running on ſhore; which, had either the wind blown from its uſual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon ſuddenly ſhone out, not a ſhip amongſt us could poſſibly have avoided: But the wind, which ſome few hours before blew in ſqualls from the S. W, having fortunately ſhifted to W. N. W, we were enabled to ſtand to the ſouthward, and to clear ourſelves of this unexpected danger; ſo that by noon we had gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of *Terra del Fuego*, near the ſouthern outlet deſcribed in *Frezier*'s Chart of the Streights of *Magellan*, and was ſuppoſed to be that point called by him Cape *Noir*. It was indeed moſt wonderful, that the

currents ſhould have driven us to the eaſtward with ſuch ſtrength; for the whole ſquadron eſteemed themſelves upwards of ten degrees more weſterly than this land, ſo that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced above half that diſtance. And now, inſtead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil ſeas, we were to ſteer again to the ſouthward, and were again to combat thoſe weſtern blaſts, which had ſo often terrified us; and this too, when we were weakned by our men falling ſick, and dying apace, and when our ſpirits, dejected by a long continuance at ſea, and by our late diſappointment, were much leſs capable of ſupporting us in the various difficulties, which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the diſcouragement we received by the diminution of the ſtrength of the ſquadron; for three days before this, we loſt ſight of the *Severn* and the *Pearl* in the morning; and though we ſpread our ſhips, and beat about for ſome time, yet we never ſaw them more; whence we had apprehenſions that they too might have fallen in with this land in the night, and by being leſs favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on ſhore and have periſhed. Full of theſe dejected thoughts and gloomy preſages, we ſtood away to the S. W, prepared by our late diſaſter to ſuſpect, that how large ſoever an allowance we made in our weſting for the drift of the eaſtern current, we might ſtill, upon a ſecond trial, perhaps find it inſufficient.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Obſervations and directions for facilitating the paſſage of our future Cruiſers round Cape *Horn*.

THE improper ſeaſon of the year in which we attempted to double Cape *Horn*, and to which is to be imputed the diſappointment (recited in the foregoing chapter) in falling in with *Terra del Fuego*, when we reckoned ourſelves at leaſt a hundred leagues to the weſtward of that whole coaſt, and conſequently well advanced into the *Pacifick* Ocean; this unſeaſonable navigation, I ſay, to which we were neceſſitated by our too late departure from *England*, was the fatal ſource of all the misfortunes we afterwards encountered. For from hence proceeded the ſeparation of our ſhips, the deſtruction of our people, the ruin of our project on *Baldivia*, and of all our other views on the *Spaniſh* places, and the reduction of our ſquadron from the formidable condition in which it paſſed Streights *Le Maire*, to a couple of ſhattered half-manned cruiſers and a ſloop, ſo far diſabled, that in many climates they ſcarcely durſt have put to ſea. To prevent therefore, as much as in me lies, all ſhips hereafter bound to the *South-Seas* from ſuffering the ſame calamities, I think it my duty to inſert in this place, ſuch directions and obſervations, as either my own experience and reflection, or the converſe of the moſt ſkilful Navigators on board

the ſquadron could furniſh me with, in relation to the moſt eligible manner of doubling Cape *Horn*, whether in regard to the ſeaſon of the year, the courſe proper to be ſteered, or the places of refreſhment both on the Eaſt and Weſt-ſide of *South-America*.

And firſt with regard to the proper place for refreſhment on the Eaſt-ſide of *South-America*. For this purpoſe the Iſland of St. *Catherine's* has been uſually recommended by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned: But the treatment we met with, and the ſmall ſtore of refreſhments we could procure there, are ſufficient reaſons to render all ſhips for the future cautious, how they truſt themſelves in the government of *Don Joſe Silva de Paz*; for they may certainly depend on having their ſtrength, condition and deſigns betrayed to the *Spaniards*, as far as the knowledge, the Governor can procure of theſe particulars, will give leave. And as this treacherous conduct is inſpired by the views of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river of *Plate*, rather than by any national affection which the *Portugueſe* bear the *Spaniards*, the ſame perfidy may perhaps be expected from moſt of the Governors of the *Brazil* coaſt; ſince theſe ſmuggling engagements are doubtleſs very extenſive and general. And though the Governors ſhould themſelves deteſt ſo faithleſs a procedure, yet as ſhips are perpetually paſſing from ſome or other of the *Brazil* ports to the river of *Plate*, the *Spaniards* could ſcarcely fail of receiving, by this

this means, casual intelligence of any *British* ships upon the coast; which, however imperfect such intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and interests of those cruisers who were thus discovered.

For the *Spanish* trade in the *South-Seas* running all in one track from North to South, with very little deviation to the eastward or westward, it is in the power of two or three cruisers, properly stationed in different parts of this track, to possess themselves of every ship that puts to sea: But this is only so long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coast; for the instant an enemy is known to be in those seas, all navigation is stopped, and consequently all captures are at an end; since the *Spaniards*, well apprized of these advantages of the enemy, send expresses along the coast, and lay a general embargo on all their trade; a measure which they prudentially foresee, will not only prevent their vessels being taken, but will soon lay any cruisers, who have not strength sufficient to attempt their places, under a necessity of returning home. Hence then appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind; and hence too it follows, how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the *Portuguese* Governors to the *Spaniards*, in relation to the designs of ships touching at the ports of *Brazil*.

However, notwithstanding the inconveniencies we have mentioned of touching on the coast of *Brazil*, it will oftentimes happen, that ships bound

bound round Cape *Horn* will be obliged to call there for a ſupply of wood and water, and other refreſhments. In this caſe St. *Catherine's* is the laſt place I would recommend, both as the proper animals for a live ſtock at ſea, as hogs, ſheep and fowls cannot be procured there, (for want of which we found ourſelves greatly diſtreſſed, by being reduced to live almoſt entirely on ſalt proviſions) but alſo becauſe from its being nearer the river of *Plate* than many of their other ſettlements, the inducements and conveniencies of betraying us are much ſtronger. The place I would recommend is *Rio Janeiro*, where two of our ſquadron put in after they were ſeparated from us in paſſing Cape *Horn*; for here, as I have been informed by one of the Gentlemen on board thoſe ſhips, any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured, and this place being more diſtant from the river of *Plate*, the difficulty of intelligence is ſomewhat inhanced, and conſequently the chance of continuing there undiſcovered, in ſome degree augmented. Other meaſures, which may effectually obviate all theſe embarraſſments, will be conſidered more at large hereafter.

And now I proceed to the conſideration of the proper courſe to be ſteered for doubling Cape *Horn*. And here, I think, I am ſufficiently authoriſed by our own fatal experience, and by a careful compariſon and examination of the journals of former Navigators, to give this piece of advice, which in prudence I think ought never

to

to be departed from: That is, that all ſhips bound to the *South-Seas*, inſtead of paſſing through Streights *Le Maire*, ſhould conſtantly paſs to the eaſtward of *Staten-land*, and ſhould be invariably bent on running to the ſouthward as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavour to ſtand to the weſtward; and that when they are got into that latitude, they ſhould then make ſure of ſufficient weſting, before they once think of ſteering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically oppoſite to theſe have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent on me to produce my reaſons for each part of this maxim. And firſt, as to the paſſing to the eaſtward of *Staten-land*. Thoſe who have attended to the riſque we ran in paſſing Streights *Le Maire*, the danger we were in of being driven upon *Staten-land* by the current, when, though we happily eſcaped being put on ſhore, we were yet carried to the eaſtward of that Iſland: Thoſe who reflect on this, and on the like accidents which have happened to other ſhips, will ſurely not eſteem it prudent to paſs through Streights *Le Maire*, and run the riſque of ſhipwreck, and after all find themſelves no farther to the weſtward (the only reaſon hitherto given for this practice) than they might have been in the ſame time, by a ſecure navigation in an open ſea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62 South, before any endeavour is made to ſtand to the weſtward. The reaſons for this precept are, that in all probability the violence of the currents will be

be hereby avoided, and the weather will prove leſs tempeſtuous and uncertain. This laſt circumſtance we ourſelves experienced moſt remarkably; for after we had unexpectedly fallen in with the land, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, we ſtood away to the ſouthward to run clear of it, and were no ſooner advanced into ſixty degrees or upwards, but we met with much better weather, and ſmoother water than in any other part of the whole paſſage: The air indeed was very cold and ſharp, and we had ſtrong gales, but they were ſteady and uniform, and we had at the ſame time ſunſhine and a clear ſky; whereas in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were, to recover new ſtrength, and then returned ſuddenly in the moſt violent guſts, threatening at each blaſt the loſs of our maſts, which muſt have ended in our certain deſtruction. And that the currents in this high latitude would be of much leſs efficacy than nearer the land, ſeems to be evinced from theſe conſiderations, that all currents run with greater violence near the ſhore than at ſea, and at greater diſtances from ſhore they are ſcarcely perceptible: Indeed the reaſon of this ſeems ſufficiently obvious, if we conſider, that conſtant currents are, in all probability, produced by conſtant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a ſlow and imperceptible motion, a large body of water, which being accumulated upon any coaſt that it meets with, this ſuperfluous water muſt eſcape along the ſhore by the endeavours of its ſurface, to reduce itſelf to the ſame

ſame level with the reſt of the Ocean. And it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that thoſe violent guſts of wind which we experienced near the ſhore, ſo very different from what we found in the latitude of ſixty degrees and upwards, may be owing to a ſimilar cauſe; for a weſterly wind almoſt perpetually prevails in the ſouthern part of the *Pacifick* Ocean: And this current of air being interrupted by thoſe immenſe hills called the *Andes*, and by the mountains on *Terra del Fuego*, which together bar up the whole country to the ſouthward as far as Cape *Horn*, a part of it only can eſcape over the tops of thoſe prodigious precipices, and the reſt muſt naturally follow the direction of the coaſt, and muſt range down the land to the ſouthward, and ſweep with an impetuous and irregular blaſt round Cape *Horn*, and the ſouthermoſt part of *Terra del Fuego*. However, not to rely on theſe ſpeculations, we may, I believe, eſtabliſh, as inconteſtable, theſe matters of fact, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the weſtern gales, are leſs ſenſible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the ſhore of *Terra del Fuego*.

But though I am ſatisfied both from our own experience, and the relations of other Navigators, of the importance of the precept I here inſiſt on, that of running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any endeavours are made to ſtand to the weſtward; yet I would adviſe no ſhips hereafter to truſt ſo far to this management, as to neglect another moſt eſſential maxim, which is the making this paſſage in the height of ſummer,

mer, that is, in the months of *December* and *January*; and the more diſtant the time of paſſing is taken from this ſeaſon, the more diſaſtrous it may be reaſonably expected to prove. Indeed, if the mere violence of the weſtern winds be conſidered, the time of our paſſage, which was about the Equinox, was perhaps the moſt unfavourable ſeaſon; but then it muſt be conſidered, that in the depth of winter there are many other inconveniencies to be apprehended in this navigation, which are almoſt inſuperable: For the ſeverity of the cold, and the ſhortneſs of the days would render it impracticable at that ſeaſon to run ſo far to the ſouthward as is here recommended; and the ſame reaſons would greatly augment the alarms of ſailing in the neighbourhood of an unknown ſhore, dreadful in its appearance in the midſt of ſummer, and would make a winter navigation on this coaſt to be, of all others, the moſt diſmaying and terrible. As I would therefore adviſe all ſhips to make their paſſage in *December* and *January*, if poſſible, ſo I would warn them never to attempt the ſea to the ſouthward of Cape *Horn*, after the month of *March*.

And now as to the remaining conſideration, that is, the propereſt port for cruiſers to refreſh at on their firſt arrival in the *South-Seas*. On this head there is ſcarcely any choice, the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes* being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpoſe. For though there are many ports on the weſtern ſide of *Patagonia*, between the Streights of *Magellan* and the *Spaniſh* ſettlements (a plan of one of which will

will be referred to in the courſe of this work) where ſhips might ride in great ſafety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure ſome few refreſhments; yet that coaſt is in itſelf ſo terrible, from the rocks and breakers it abounds with, and from the violence of the weſtern winds, which blow conſtantly full upon it, that it is by no means adviſeable to fall in with that land, at leaſt till the roads, channels and anchorage in each part of it are accurately ſurveyed, and both the dangers and ſhelter it abounds with are more diſtinctly known.

Thus having given the beſt directions in my power for the ſucceſs of future cruiſers bound to the *South-Seas*, it might be expected that I ſhould again reſume the thread of my narration. But as both in the preceding and ſubſequent parts of this work, I have thought it my duty not only to recite all ſuch facts, and to inculcate ſuch maxims as had the leaſt appearance of proving beneficial to future Navigators, but alſo occaſionally to recommend ſuch meaſures to the Public, as I conceive are adapted to promote the ſame laudable purpoſe, I cannot deſiſt from the preſent ſubject, without beſeeching thoſe to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, to endeavour to remove the many perplexities and embarraſſments with which the navigation to the *South-Seas* is, at preſent, neceſſarily encumbered. An effort of this kind could not fail of proving highly honourable to themſelves, and extremely beneficial to their country. For it is to me ſufficiently evident, that whatever advantages naviga-

vigation ſhall receive, either by the invention of methods that ſhall render its practice leſs hazardous, or by the more accurate delineation of the coaſts, roads and ports already known, or by the diſcovery of new nations, or new ſpecies of commerce; it is evident, I ſay, to me, that by whatever means navigation is promoted, the conveniencies hence ariſing muſt ultimately redound to the emolument of *Great-Britain*. Since as our fleets are at preſent ſuperior to thoſe of the whole world united, it muſt be a matchleſs degree of ſupineneſs or mean-ſpiritedneſs, if we permitted any of the advantages which new diſcoveries, or a more extended navigation may produce to mankind, to be raviſhed from us.

As therefore it appears that all our future expeditions to the *South-Seas* muſt run a conſiderable riſque of proving abortive, whilſt we are under the neceſſity of touching at *Brazil* in our paſſage thither, an expedient that might relieve us from this difficulty, would ſurely be a ſubject worthy of the attention of the Public; and this ſeems capable of being effected, by the diſcovery of ſome place more to the ſouthward, where ſhips might refreſh and ſupply themſelves with the neceſſary ſea-ſtock for their voyage round Cape *Horn*. And we have in reality the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpoſe; the firſt of them is *Pepys*'s Iſland, in the latitude of 47° South, and laid down by Dr. *Halley*, about eighty leagues to the eaſtward of Cape *Blanco*, on the coaſt of *Patagonia*;

gonia; the second, is *Falkland*'s Isles, in the latitude of 51° ½ nearly South of *Pepys*'s Island. The first of these was discovered by Captain *Cowley*, in his Voyage round the World in the year 1686; who represents it as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, and says, it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety; that it abounds with fowls, and as the shore is either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish. The second place, or *Falkland*'s Isles, have been seen by many ships both *French* and *English*, being the land laid down by *Frezier*, in his Chart of the extremity of South *America*, under the title of the *New Islands*. *Woods Rogers*, who run along the N. E. coast of these Isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, with woods and harbours. Either of these places, as they are Islands at a considerable distance from the Continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at present recommended for proper places of refreshment for ships bound to the southward: But if the Admiralty should think it advisable to order them to be surveyed, which may be done at a very small expence, by a vessel fitted out on purpose; and if, on this examination, one or both of these places should appear proper for the purpose intended, it is scarcely to be conceived, of what

prodigious import a convenient ſtation might prove, ſituated ſo far to the ſouthward, and ſo near Cape *Horn*. The Duke and Ducheſs of *Briſtol* were but thirty-five days from their loſing ſight of *Falkland*'s Iſles to their arrival at *Juan Fernandes* in the *South-Seas*: And as the returning back is much facilitated by the weſtern winds, I doubt not but a voyage might be made from *Falkland*'s Iſles to *Juan Fernandes* and back again, in little more than two months. This, even in time of peace, might be of great conſequence to this Nation; and, in time of war, would make us maſters of thoſe ſeas.

And as all diſcoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to thoſe who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconſiderable expence, ſince ſmall veſſels are much the propereſt to be employed in this ſervice, it were to be wiſhed, that the whole coaſt of *Patagonia*, *Terra del Fuego*, and *Staten-land*, were carefully ſurveyed, and the numerous channels, roads and harbours with which they abound, accurately examined; this might open to us facilities of paſſing into the *Pacific* Ocean, which as yet we may be unacquainted with, and would render all that ſouthern navigation infinitely ſecurer than at preſent; and particularly, an exact draught of the Weſt coaſt of *Patagonia*, from the Streights of *Magellan* to the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, might perhaps furniſh us with better and more convenient ports for refreſhment, and better ſituated for the purpoſes either of war or commerce, and above a fortnight's ſail nearer to

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Falkland's Iſlands, than the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*. The diſcovery of this coaſt hath formerly been thought of ſuch conſequence, by reaſon of its neighbourhood to the *Araucos* and other *Chilian Indians*, who are generally at war, or at leaſt on ill terms with their *Spaniſh* neighbours, that Sir *John Narborough* was purpoſely fitted out in the reign of King *Charles* II, to ſurvey the Streights of *Magellan*, the neighbouring coaſt of *Patagonia*, and the *Spaniſh* ports on that frontier, with directions, if poſſible, to procure ſome intercourſe with the *Chilian Indians*, and to eſtabliſh a commerce and a laſting correſpondence with them. His Majeſty's views in employing Sir *John Narborough* in this expedition, were not ſolely the advantage he might hope to receive from the alliance of thoſe ſavages, in reſtraining and intimidating the Crown of *Spain*; but he conceived, that independent of thoſe motives, the immediate traffick with theſe *Indians* might prove extremely advantagious to the *Engliſh* Nation. For it is well known, that at the firſt diſcovery of *Chili* by the *Spaniards*, it abounded with vaſt quantities of gold, much beyond what it has at any time produced, ſince it has been in their poſſeſſion. And hence it has been generally believed, that the richeſt mines are prudently concealed by the *Indians*, as well knowing that the diſcovery of them to the *Spaniards* would only excite in them a greater thirſt for conqueſt and tyranny, and render their own independence, precarious. But with reſpect to their commerce

with the *Engliſh*, theſe reaſons would no longer influence them; ſince it would be in our power to furniſh them with arms and ammunition of all kinds, of which they are extremely deſirous, together with many other conveniencies, which their intercourſe with the *Spaniards* has taught them to reliſh. They would then, in all probability, open their mines, and gladly embrace a traffick of ſuch mutual convenience to both Nations; for then their gold, inſtead of proving the means of enſlaving them, would procure them weapons to aſſert their liberty, to chaſtiſe their tyrants, and to ſecure themſelves for ever from the *Spaniſh* yoke; whilſt with our aſſiſtance, and under our protection, they might become a conſiderable people, and might ſecure to us that wealth, which formerly by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and lately by the Houſe of *Bourbon*, has been moſt miſchievouſly laviſhed in the purſuit of univerſal Monarchy.

It is true, that Sir *John Narborough* did not ſucceed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promiſed ſo many advantages to this Nation. However, his diſappointment was merely accidental, and his tranſactions upon that coaſt (beſides the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind, than any objection againſt them; his principal misfortune being the loſing company of a ſmall bark which attended him, and having ſome of his people trapanned at *Baldivia*. However, it appeared, by the precautions and fears of the

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Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the ſcheme he was ſent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences.

It is ſaid, that his Majeſty King *Charles* the Second was ſo far prepoſſeſſed with the hopes of the advantages redounding from this expedition, and ſo eager to be informed of the event of it, that having intelligence of Sir *John Narborough*'s paſſing through the *Downs*, on his return, he had not patience to attend his arrival at Court, but went himſelf in his barge to *Graveſend* to meet him.

To facilitate as much as poſſible any attempts of this kind, which may be hereafter undertaken, I have here annexed the thirteenth plate, containing a chart of that part of the world, as far as it is hitherto known, which I flatter myſelf is in ſome reſpects much correcter than any hitherto publiſhed. To evince which, it may be neceſſary to mention what materials I have principally made uſe of, and what changes I have introduced different from other authors.

The two moſt celebrated charts hitherto publiſhed of the ſouthermoſt part of South *America*, are thoſe of Dr. *Halley*, in his general chart of the magnetic variation, and of *Frezier* in his voyage to the *South-Seas*. But beſides theſe, there is a chart of the Streights of *Magellan*, and of ſome part of the adjacent coaſt, by Sir *John Narborough* above-mentioned, which is doubtleſs infinitely exacter in that part than *Frezier*, and in ſome reſpects ſuperior to *Halley*, particularly in

what relates to the longitudes of the different parts of thoſe Streights. The coaſt from Cape *Blanco* to *Terra del Fuego*, and thence to Streights *Le Maire*, we were in ſome meaſure capable of correcting by our own obſervations, as we ranged that ſhore generally in ſight of land. The poſition of the land, to the northward of the Streights of *Magellan*, on the Weſt ſide, is doubtleſs laid down in our chart but very imperfectly; and yet I believe it to be much nearer the truth than what has hitherto been done: As it is drawn from the information of ſome of the *Wager*'s crew, who were ſhipwrecked on that ſhore, and afterwards coaſted it down; and as it agrees pretty nearly with the deſcription of ſome *Spaniſh* manuſcripts I have ſeen.

The Channel dividing *Terra del Fuego* is drawn from *Frezier*; but in the *Spaniſh* manuſcripts there are ſeveral Channels delineated, and I have reaſon to ſuppoſe, that whenever this country is thoroughly examined, this circumſtance will prove true, and *Terra del Fuego* will be found to conſiſt of ſeveral Iſlands.

And having mentioned *Frezier* ſo often, I muſt not omit warning all future Navigators, againſt relying on the longitude of Streights *Le Maire*, or of any part of that coaſt, laid down in his chart; the whole being from 8 to 10 degrees too far to the caſtward, if any faith can be given to the concurrent evidences of a great number of journals, verified in ſome particulars by aſtronomical obſervation. For inſtance, Sir *John Narborough* lays down Cape *Virgin Mary* in 65°:

42'

42′ of Weſt longitude from the *Lizard*, that is in 71° : 20 from *London*. And the ſhips of our ſquadron, who took their departure from St. *Catherine's* (where the longitude was rectified by an obſervation of the eclipſe of the moon) found Cape *Virgin Mary* to be from 70° : 46′, to 71° : 30′ from *London*, according to their different reckonings: And there were no circumſtances in our run that could render it conſiderably erroneous, ſo that it cannot be eſteemed in leſs than 71 degrees of Weſt longitude; whereas *Frezier* lays it down in leſs than 66 degrees from *Paris*, that is little more than 63 degrees from *London*, which is doubtleſs 8 degrees ſhort of its true quantity. Again, our ſquadron found Cape *Virgin Mary* and Cape St. *Bartholomew* on the eaſtern ſide of Streights *Le Maire* to be only 2° : 8′ different in longitude, which in *Frezier* are diſtant near 4 degrees; ſo that not only the longitude of Cape St. *Bartholomew* is laid down in him near 10 degrees too little, but the whole coaſt, from the Streights of *Magellan* to Streights *Le Maire*, is enlarged to near double its real extent.

But to have done with *Frezier*, whoſe errors, the importance of the ſubject and not a fondneſs for cavilling, has obliged me to remark, (though his treatment of Dr. *Halley* might, on the preſent occaſion, authoriſe much ſeverer uſage) I muſt, in the next place, particularize wherein the chart I have here mentioned differs from that of our learned countryman.

It is well known that this Gentleman was ſent abroad by the Public, to make ſuch geographical and aſtronomical obſervations, as might facilitate the future practice of navigation, and particularly to determine the variation of the compaſs in ſuch places as he ſhould touch at, and if poſſible, to aſcertain its general laws and affections.

Theſe things Dr. *Halley*, to his immortal reputation and the honour of our Nation, in good meaſure accompliſhed, particularly with regard to the variation of the compaſs, a ſubject, of all others, the moſt intereſting to thoſe employed in the art of navigation. He likewiſe corrected the poſition of the coaſt of *Brazil*, which had been very erroneouſly laid down by all former Hydrographers; and by a judicious compariſon of the obſervations of others, has happily ſucceeded in ſettling the geography of many parts of the globe, where he had not himſelf been. So that the chart he publiſhed, with the variation of the needle marked thereon, being the reſult of his labours on this ſubject, was allowed by all *Europe* to be far compleater in its geography than any that had then appeared, and at the ſame time moſt ſurprizingly exact in the quantity of variation aſſigned to the different parts of the globe; a ſubject ſo very intricate and perplexing, that all general determinations about it had till then appeared impoſſible.

But as the only means he had of correcting thoſe coaſts where he did not touch himſelf was the obſervations of others; where thoſe obſervations

tions were wanting, or were inaccurate, it was no imputation on his ſkill, that his determinations were defective. And this, upon the beſt compariſon I have been able to make, is the caſe with regard to that part of his chart, which contains the South part of South *America*. For though the coaſt of *Brazil*, and the oppoſite coaſt of *Peru* on the *South-Seas* are laid down, I preſume, with the greateſt accuracy, yet from about the river of *Plate* on the Eaſt ſide, and its oppoſite point on the Weſt, the coaſt gradually declines too much to the weſtward, ſo as at the Streights of *Magellan* to be, as I conceive, about fifty leagues removed from its true poſition: At leaſt, this is the reſult of the obſervations of our ſquadron, which agree extremely well with thoſe of Sir *John Narborough*. I muſt add, that Dr. *Halley* has, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, given the foundation on which he has proceeded, in fixing Port St. *Julian* in 76° ½ of Weſt longitude: (which the concurrent journals of our ſquadron place from 70° ¾ to 71° ½) This, he tells us, was an obſervation of the eclipſe of the moon, made at that place by Mr. *Wood*, then Sir *John Narborough*'s Lieutenant, and which is ſaid to have happened there at eight in the evening, on the 18th of *September*, 1670. But Capt. *Wood*'s journal of this whole voyage under Sir *John Narborough* is ſince publiſhed, together with this obſervation, in which he determines the longitude of Port St. *Julian* to be 73 degrees from *London*, and the time of the eclipſe to have been different from Dr. *Halley*'s account. But the

num-

numbers he has given are ſo faultily printed, that nothing can be determined from them.

To what I have already mentioned with regard to the chart hereunto annexed, I ſhall only add, that to render it more compleat, I have inſerted therein the route of our ſquadron, and have delineated, in the paſſage round Cape *Horn*, both the real track which we deſcribed, and the imaginary track exhibited by our reckoning; whence the violence of the currents in that part of the world, and the enormous deviations which they produce, will appear by inſpection. And that no material article might be omitted in this important affair, the ſoundings on the coaſt of *Patagonia*, and the variation of the magnetic needle, are annexed to thoſe parts of this track, where, by our obſervations, we found them to be of the quantity there ſpecified.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From Cape *Noir* to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes.*

AFTER the mortifying diſappointment of falling in with the coaſt of *Terra del Fuego*, when we eſteemed ourſelves ten degrees to the weſtward of it; after this diſappointment, I ſay, recited in the eighth chapter, we ſtood away to the S. W. till the 22d of *April*, when we were upwards of 60° of South latitude, and by our account near 6° to the weſtward of Cape *Noir*; and in this run, we had a ſeries of as favourable weather, as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better ſeaſon: So that this interval, ſetting the inquietude of our thoughts aſide, was by far the moſt eligible of any we enjoyed from Streights *Le Maire* to the Weſt coaſt of *America*. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the 24th; but on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow freſh, and ſoon encreaſed to a prodigious ſtorm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we loſt ſight of the other four ſhips of the ſquadron, which, notwithſtanding the violence of the preceding ſtorms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our ſole misfortune; for, the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-ſails, the clew-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the ſheets being half flown, every ſeam in the top-ſails was ſoon

ſplit

ſplit from top to bottom, and the main top-ſail ſhook ſo ſtrongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the maſt; however, at length, ſome of the moſt daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the ſail away cloſe to the reefs, though with the utmoſt hazard of their lives. At the ſame time, the foretop-ſail beat about the yard with ſo much fury, that it was ſoon blown to pieces; and that we might have full employment, the main-ſail blew looſe, which obliged us to lower down the yard to ſecure the ſail, and the fore-yard being likewiſe lowered, we lay to under a mizen: And beſides the loſs of our top-ſails, we had much of our other rigging broke, and loſt a main ſtudding-ſail-boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to ſway up our yards, and to repair, in the beſt manner we could, our ſhattered rigging; but ſtill we had no ſight of the reſt of our ſquadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them again, till after our arrival at *Juan Fernandes*, nor did any two of them, as we have ſince learned, continue in company together: And this total ſeparation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for ſeven weeks, through all the reiterated tempeſts of this turbulent climate. It muſt indeed be owned, that this ſeparation gave us room to expect, that we might make our paſſage in a ſhorter time, than if we had continued together, becauſe we could now make the beſt

of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourselves were hereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety would depend upon our single ship; so that if a plank started, or any other accident of the same nature should take place, we must all irrecoverably perish; or should we be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting away; whereas with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, since in every kind of danger, there would be some probability that one ship at least might escape, and might be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of *April* we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day, since the 22d, edging to the northward; however, on the last day of the month, we flattered ourselves with the hopes of soon terminating all our sufferings, for we that day found ourselves in the latitude of 52° : 13′, which being to the northward of the Streights of *Magellan*, we were assured that we had compleated our passage, and had arrived in the confines of the southern Ocean; and this Ocean being nominated *Pacific*, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we should be speedily cheared with the moderate gales, the

smooth

ſmooth water, and the temperate air, for which that tract of the globe has been ſo renowned. And under the influence of theſe pleaſing circumſtances, we hoped to experience ſome kind of compenſation; for the complicated miſeries which had ſo conſtantly attended us for the laſt eight weeks. But here we were again diſappointed; for in the ſucceeding month of *May*, our ſufferings roſe to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we conſider the violence of the ſtorms, the ſhattering of our ſails and rigging, or the diminiſhing and weakening of our crew by deaths and ſickneſs, and the probable proſpect of our total deſtruction. All this will be ſufficiently evident, from the following circumſtantial account of our diverſified misfortunes.

Soon after our paſſing Streights *Le Maire*; the ſcurvy began to make its appearance amongſt us; and our long continuance at ſea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various diſappointments we met with, had occaſioned its ſpreading to ſuch a degree, that at the latter end of *April* there were but few on board, who were not in ſome degree afflicted with it, and in that month no leſs than forty-three died of it on board the *Centurion*. But though we thought that the diſtemper had then riſen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope, that as we advanced to the northward its malignity would abate; yet, we found, on the contrary, that in the month of *May* we loſt near double that number: And as

we did not get to land till the middle of *June*, the mortality went on increaſing, and the diſeaſe extended itſelf ſo prodigiouſly, that after the loſs of above two hundred men, we could not at laſt muſter more than ſix fore-maſt men in a watch capable of duty.

This diſeaſe ſo frequently attending all long voyages, and ſo particularly deſtructive to us, is ſurely the moſt ſingular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. For its ſymptoms are inconſtant and innumerable, and its progreſs and effects extremely irregular; for ſcarcely any two perſons have the ſame complaints, and where there hath been found ſome conformity in the ſymptoms, the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diſeaſes, and is therefore not to be deſcribed by any excluſive and infallible criterions; yet there are ſome ſymptoms which are more general than the reſt; and therefore, occurring the oftneſt, deſerve a more particular enumeration. Theſe common appearances are large diſcoloured ſpots diſperſed over the whole ſurface of the body, ſwelled legs, putrid gums, and above all, an extraordinary laſſitude of the whole body, eſpecially after any exerciſe, however inconſiderable; and this laſſitude at laſt degenerates into a proneneſs to ſwoon on the leaſt exertion of ſtrength, or even on the leaſt motion.

This diſeaſe is likewiſe uſually attended with a ſtrange dejection of the ſpirits, and with ſhiverings, tremblings, and a diſpoſition to be ſeized

with

with the moſt dreadful terrors on the ſlighteſt accident. Indeed it was moſt remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever diſcouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the diſtemper; for it uſually killed thoſe who were in the laſt ſtages of it, and confined thoſe to their hammocks, who were before capable of ſome kind of duty; ſo that it ſeemed as if alacrity of mind, and ſanguine thoughts, were no contemptible preſervatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not eaſy to compleat the long roll of the various concomitants of this diſeaſe; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleuriſies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatick pains, and ſometimes it occaſioned an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing; and this was eſteemed the moſt deadly of all the ſcorbutick ſymptoms: At other times the whole body, but more eſpecially the legs, were ſubject to ulcers of the worſt kind, attended with rotten bones, and ſuch a luxuriancy of fungous fleſh, as yielded to no remedy. But a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, and what would be ſcarcely credible upon any ſingle evidence, is, that the ſcars of wounds which had been for many years healed, were forced open again by this virulent diſtemper: Of this, there was a remarkable inſtance in one of the invalids on board the *Centurion*, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle

battle of the *Boyne*; for though he was cured ſoon after, and had continued well for a great number of years paſt, yet on his being attacked by the ſcurvy, his wounds, in the progreſs of his diſeaſe, broke out afreſh, and appeared as if they had never been healed: Nay, what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, the callous of a broken bone, which had been compleatly formed for a long time, was found to be hereby diſſolved, and the fracture ſeemed as if it had never been conſolidated. Indeed, the effects of this diſeaſe were in almoſt every inſtance wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconſiderable ſhare of health, for they eat and drank heartily, were chearful, and talked with much ſeeming vigour, and with a loud ſtrong tone of voice; and yet on their being the leaſt moved, though it was only from one part of the ſhip to the other, and that in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their ſeeming ſtrength, and have reſolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck; and it was no uncommon thing for thoſe who were able to walk the deck, and to do ſome kind of duty, to drop down dead in an inſtant, on any endeavours to act with their utmoſt vigour, many of our people having periſhed in this manner during the courſe of this voyage.

With this terrible diſeaſe we ſtruggled the greateſt part of the time of our beating round

Cape *Horn*; and though it did not then rage with its utmoſt violence, yet we buried no leſs than forty-three men on board the *Centurion*, in the month of *April*, as hath been already obſerved, but we ſtill entertained hopes, that when we ſhould have once ſecured our paſſage round the Cape, we ſhould put a period to this, and all the other evils which had ſo conſtantly purſued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the *Pacific* Ocean was to us leſs hoſpitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of *Terra del Fuego* and Cape *Horn*: For being arrived, on the 8th of *May*, off the Iſland of *Socoro*, which was the firſt rendezvous appointed for the ſquadron, and where we hoped to have met with ſome of our companions, we cruized for them in that ſtation ſeveral days. And here we were not only diſappointed in our hopes of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy ſuggeſtions of their having all periſhed; but we were likewiſe perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on ſhore upon this coaſt, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the leaſt hopes, that in ſuch a caſe any of us could poſſibly eſcape immediate deſtruction. For the land had indeed a moſt tremendous aſpect: The moſt diſtant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains uſually called the *Andes* or *Cordilleras*, was extremely high, and covered with ſnow; and the coaſt itſelf ſeemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge ſkirted with

with precipices. In ſome places indeed there appeared ſeveral deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little Iſlands; and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient ſhelter in ſome of thoſe bays, and proper channels leading thereto; yet as we were utterly ignorant of the coaſt, had we been driven aſhore by the weſtern winds which blew almoſt conſtantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loſs of our ſhips and of our lives.

And this continued peril, which laſted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ſhip; as the ſcurvy had by this time deſtroyed ſo great a part of our hands, and had in ſome degree affected almoſt the whole crew. Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds leſs violent, as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious ſqualls which ſplit our ſails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our maſts. Indeed, during the greateſt part of the time we were upon this coaſt, the wind blew ſo hard, that in another ſituation, where we had ſufficient ſea-room, we ſhould certainly have lain to; but in the preſent exigency we were neceſſitated to carry both our courſes and top-ſails, in order to keep clear of this lee-ſhore. In one of theſe ſqualls, which was attended by ſeveral violent claps of thunder, a ſudden flaſh of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like

that of ſeveral piſtols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it paſſed, marking them in different parts of the body: This flame was attended with a ſtrong ſulphurous ſtench, and was doubtleſs of the ſame nature with the larger and more violent blaſts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endleſs to recite minutely the various diſaſters, fatigues and terrors which we encountered on this coaſt; all theſe went on increaſing till the 22d of *May*, at which time, the fury of all the ſtorms which we had hitherto encountered, ſeemed to be combined, and to have conſpired our deſtruction. In this hurricane almoſt all our ſails were ſplit, and great part of our ſtanding rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown ſea took us upon our ſtarboard-quarter, and gave us ſo prodigious a ſhock, that ſeveral of our ſhrouds broke with the jerk, by which our maſts were greatly endangered; our ballaſt and ſtores too were ſo ſtrangely ſhifted, that the ſhip heeled afterwards two ſtreaks to port. Indeed it was a moſt tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation from the apprehenſion of inſtantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours; yet, as we had no more ſails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ſhip laboured very much in a hollow ſea, rolling gunwale to, for want of ſail to ſteady her: So that we expected our maſts, which were now very ſlenderly ſupported, to come

come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourſelves the beſt we could to ſtirrup our ſhrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our ſails; but while theſe neceſſary operations were carrying on, we ran great riſque of being driven on ſhore on the Iſland of *Chiloe*, which was not far diſtant from us; but in the midſt of our peril the wind happily ſhifted to the ſouthward, and we ſteered off the land with the main-ſail only, the Maſter and myſelf undertaking the management of the helm, while every one elſe on board was buſied in ſecuring the maſts, and bending the ſails as faſt as they could be repaired. This was the laſt effort of that ſtormy climate; for in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced ſince our paſſing Streights *Le Maire*. And now having cruized in vain for more than a fortnight in queſt of the other ſhips of the ſquadron, it was reſolved to take the advantage of the preſent favourable ſeaſon and the offing we had made from this terrible coaſt, and to make the beſt of our way for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of *Baldivia*, yet as we had hitherto ſeen none of our companions at this firſt rendezvous, it was not to be ſuppoſed that any of them would be found at the ſecond: Indeed we had the greateſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that all but ourſelves had periſhed. Beſides, we were by this time reduced to ſo low a con-

dition, that inſtead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmoſt hopes could only ſuggeſt to us the poſſibility of ſaving the ſhip, and ſome part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our ſpeedy arrival at *Juan Fernandes*; for this was the only road in that part of the world where there was any probability of our recovering our ſick, or refitting our veſſel, and conſequently our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid periſhing at ſea.

Our deplorable ſituation then allowing no room for deliberation, we ſtood for the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*; and to ſave time, which was now extremely precious, (our men dying, four, five and ſix in a day) and likewiſe to avoid being engaged again with a lee-ſhore, we reſolved, if poſſible, to hit the Iſland upon a meridian. And, on the 28th of *May*, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of ſeeing it: But not finding it in the poſition in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had got too far to the weſtward; and therefore, though the Commodore himſelf was ſtrongly perſuaded, that he ſaw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his Officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the hazineſs of the weather gave ſome kind of countenance, it was, on a conſultation, reſolved to ſtand to the eaſtward, in the parallel of the Iſland; as it was certain, that by this courſe we ſhould either fall in with the Iſland, if we were

already

already to the weſtward of it ; or ſhould at leaſt make the main land of *Chili*, from whence we might take a new departure, and aſſure ourſelves, by running to the weſtward afterwards, of not miſſing the Iſland a ſecond time.

On the 30th of *May* we had a view of the Continent of *Chili*, diſtant about twelve or thirteen leagues ; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white ; what we ſaw being doubtleſs a part of the *Cordilleras*, which are always covered with ſnow. Though by this view of the land we aſcertained our poſition, yet it gave us great uneaſineſs to find that we had ſo needleſsly altered our courſe, when we were, in all probability, juſt upon the point of making the Iſland ; for the mortality amongſt us was now increaſed to a moſt dreadful degree, and thoſe who remained alive were utterly diſpirited by this new diſappointment, and the proſpect of their longer continuance at ſea : Our water too began to grow ſcarce ; ſo that a general dejection prevailed amongſt us, which added much to the virulence of the diſeaſe, and deſtroyed numbers of our beſt men ; and to all theſe calamities there was added this vexatious circumſtance, that when, after having got a ſight of the Main, we tacked and ſtood to the weſtward in queſt of the Iſland, we were ſo much delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it coſt us nine days to regain the weſting, which, when we ſtood to the eaſtward, we ran down in two. In this deſponding condition, with a crazy ſhip, a great ſcarcity of freſh water, a-

a crew ſo univerſally diſeaſed, that there were not above ten fore-maſt men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even ſome of theſe lame, and unable to go aloft: Under theſe diſheartning circumſtances, I ſay, we ſtood to the weſtward; and, on the 9th of *June*, at day-break, we at laſt diſcovered the long-wiſhed-for Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*. And with this diſcovery I ſhall cloſe this chapter, and the firſt book, after obſerving (which will furniſh a very ſtrong image of our unparalleled diſtreſs) that by our ſuſpecting ourſelves to be to the weſtward of the Iſland on the 28th of *May*, and, in conſequence of this, ſtanding in for the Main, we loſt between ſeventy and eighty of our men, whom we ſhould doubtleſs have ſaved, had we made the Iſland that day, which, had we kept on our courſe for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

END of BOOK I.

A VOY-

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VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD, &c.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The arrival of the *Centurion* at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, with a deſcription of that Iſland.

ON the 9th of *June*, at day-break, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, we firſt deſcried the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, bearing N. by E. ½ E, at eleven or twelve leagues diſtance. And though, on this view, it appeared to be a mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet, as it was land, and the land we ſought for, it was to us a moſt agreeable ſight: For at this place only we could hope to put a period to thoſe terrible calamities

ſamities we had ſo long ſtruggled with, which had already ſwept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at ſea, would inevitably have compleated our deſtruction. For we were by this time reduced to ſo helpleſs a condition, that out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muſter hands enough to work the ſhip on an emergency, though we included the officers, their ſervants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we firſt made the Iſland, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ſhip in the middle watch, we had a melancholy inſtance of the almoſt incredible debility of our people; for the Lieutenant could muſter no more than two Quarter-maſters, and ſix Fore-maſt men capable of working; ſo that without the aſſiſtance of the officers, ſervants and the boys, it might have proved impoſſible for us to have reached the Iſland, after we had got ſight of it; and even with this aſſiſtance they were two hours in trimming the ſails: To ſo wretched a condition was a ſixty gun ſhip reduced, which had paſſed Streights *Le Maire* but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almoſt all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the Iſland, and kept ranging along it, at about two miles diſtance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which

was

was deſcribed to be in a bay on the North ſide. And now being nearer in with the ſhore, we could diſcover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared ſo unpromiſing at a diſtance, were far from barren, being in moſt places covered with woods; and that between them there were every where interſperſed the fineſt vallies, clothed with a moſt beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous ſtreams and caſcades, no valley of any extent, being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever taſted, and was conſtantly clear: So that the aſpect of this country would, at all times, have been extremely delightful, but in our diſtreſſed ſituation, languiſhing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, (an inclination conſtantly attending every ſtage of the ſea-ſcurvy) it is ſcarcely credible with what eagerneſs and tranſport we viewed the ſhore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreſhments which were then in ſight, and particularly for the water, for of this we had been confined to a very ſparing allowance for a conſiderable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Thoſe only who have endured a long ſeries of thirſt, and who can readily recal the deſire and agitation which the ideas alone of ſprings and brooks have at that time raiſed in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large caſcade of the moſt tranſparent water, which poured itſelf from a rock near a hundred feet high

high into the ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhip. Even thoſe amongſt the diſeaſed, who were not in the very laſt ſtages of the diſtemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the ſmall remains of ſtrength that was left them, and crawled up to the deck to feaſt themſelves with this reviving proſpect. Thus we coaſted the ſhore, fully employed in the contemplation of this diverſified landſkip, which ſtill improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at laſt the night cloſed upon us, before we had ſatisfied ourſelves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we reſolved to keep in ſoundings all night, (we having then from ſixty-four to ſeventy fathom) and to ſend our boat next morning to diſcover the road: However, the current ſhifted in the night, and ſet us ſo near the land, that we were obliged to let go the beſt bower in fifty-ſix fathom, not half a mile from the ſhore. At four in the morning, the Cutter was diſpatched with our third Lieutenant to find out the bay we were in ſearch of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with ſeals and graſs; for though the Iſland abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's-crew, in their ſhort ſtay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even graſs would prove a dainty, and indeed it was all ſoon and eagerly devoured. The ſeals too were conſidered as freſh proviſion; but as yet were not much admired, tho' they grew afterwards into more repute: For what rendered them leſs valuable at this juncture, was the prodigious quantity

tity of excellent fiſh, which the people on board had taken, during the abſence of the boat.

The Cutter, in this expedition, had diſcovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the weſtward of our preſent ſtation; and, the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither: But though, on this occaſion, we muſtered all the ſtrength we could, obliging even the ſick, who were ſcarce able to keep on their legs, to aſſiſt us; yet the capſtan was ſo weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down: After which, with our utmoſt efforts, and with many ſurges and ſome purchaſes we made uſe of to increaſe our power, we found ourſelves incapable of ſtarting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a freſh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to ſet the ſails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; on which we ſteered along ſhore, till we came a-breaſt of the point that forms the eaſtern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind, that had befriended us thus far, ſhifted and blew from thence in ſqualls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we loofed cloſe in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-ſix fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new birth, we diſcovered a ſail, which we made no doubt was one of our ſquadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the *Tryal* Sloop. We immediately ſent ſome of our hands on board her, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was brought to an

anchor

anchor between us and the land. We ſoon found that the Sloop had not been exempted from thoſe calamities which we had ſo ſeverely felt; for her Commander, Captain *Saunders*, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that out of his ſmall complement, he had buried thirty-four of his men; and thoſe that remained were ſo univerſally afflicted with the ſcurvy, that only himſelf, his Lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to ſtand by the ſails. The *Tryal* came to an anchor within us, on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawſers on board her, in order to moor ourſelves nearer in ſhore; but the wind coming off the land in violent guſts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended, eſpecially as our principal attention was now employed on buſineſs rather of more importance; for we were now extremely occupied in ſending on ſhore materials to raiſe tents for the reception of the ſick, who died apace on board, and doubtleſs the diſtemper was conſiderably augmented, by the ſtench and filthineſs in which they lay; for the number of the diſeaſed was ſo great, and ſo few could be ſpared from the neceſſary duty of the ſails to look after them, that it was impoſſible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanlineſs, which had rendered the ſhip extremely loathſome between decks. But notwithſtanding our deſire of freeing the ſick from their hateful ſituation, and their own extreme impatience to get on ſhore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and

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the two following days we ſent them all on ſhore, amounting to a hundred and ſixty-ſeven perſons, beſides at leaſt a dozen who died in the boats, on their being expoſed to the freſh air. The greateſt part of our ſick were ſo infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ſhip in their hammocks, and convey them afterwards in the ſame manner from the water-ſide to their tents, over a ſtony beach. This was a work of conſiderable fatigue to the few who were healthy, and therefore the Commodore, with his accuſtomed humanity, not only aſſiſted herein with his own labour, but obliged his Officers, without diſtinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakneſs of our ſick may in ſome meaſure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on ſhore; for it had generally been found, that the land, and the refreſhments it produces, very ſoon recover moſt ſtages of the ſea-ſcurvy; and we flattered ourſelves, that thoſe who had not periſhed on this firſt expoſure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been ſpeedily reſtored to their health and vigour: But, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceaſed; and for the firſt ten or twelve days, we buried rarely leſs than ſix each day, and many of thoſe, who ſurvived, recovered by very ſlow and inſenſible degrees. Indeed, thoſe who were well enough at their firſt getting on ſhore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were ſoon relieved, and recovered their health and ſtrength

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in a very ſhort time; but in the reſt, the diſeaſe ſeemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

Having proceeded thus far, and got our ſick on ſhore, I think it neceſſary, before I enter into any longer detail of our tranſactions, to give a diſtinct account of this Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, its ſituation, productions, and all its conveniencies. Theſe particulars we were well enabled to be minutely inſtructed in, during our three months ſtay there; and as it is the only commodious place in thoſe ſeas, where *Britiſh* cruiſers can refreſh and recover their men after their paſſage round Cape *Horn*, and where they may remain for ſome time without alarming the *Spaniſh* coaſt, theſe its advantages well merit a circumſtantial deſcription. And indeed Mr. *Anſon* was particularly induſtrious in directing the roads and coaſts to be ſurveyed, and other obſervations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of how great conſequence, theſe materials might prove to any *Britiſh* veſſels hereafter employed in thoſe ſeas. For the uncertainty we were in of its poſition, and our ſtanding in for the Main on the 28th of *May*, in order to ſecure a ſufficient eaſting, when we were indeed extremely near it, coſt us the lives of between ſeventy and eighty of our men, by our longer continuance at ſea: From which fatal accident we might have been exempted, had we been furniſhed with ſuch an account of its ſituation, as we could fully have depended on.

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The Iſland of *Juan Fernandes* lies in the latitude of 33° : 40′ South, and is a hundred and ten leagues diſtant from the Continent of *Chili*. It is ſaid to have received its name from a *Spaniard*, who formerly procured a grant of it, and reſided there ſome time with a view of ſettling it, but afterwards abandoned it. On approaching it on its eaſt ſide, it appears, as repreſented in the fourteenth plate, where (*a*) is a ſmall Iſland, called *Goat Iſland*, to the S. W. of it; (*b*) a rock, called *Monkey Key*, almoſt contiguous to it; (*c*) is the Eaſt Bay, (*d*) *Cumberland Bay*, where we moored, and which, as will be obſerved, is the beſt road for ſhipping, and (*e*) the Eaſt bay. The Iſland itſelf is of an irregular figure, as may be ſeen by the very exact plan of it in the fifteenth plate. Its greateſt extent being between four and five leagues, and its greateſt breadth ſomewhat ſhort of two leagues. The only ſafe anchoring at this Iſland is on the North ſide, where are the three bays mentioned above, but the middlemoſt known by the name of *Cumberland Bay*, is the wideſt and deepeſt, and in all reſpects much the beſt; the other two bays, denominated the Eaſt and Weſt bays, are ſcarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put their caſk on ſhore. There is a plan of the N. E. ſide of the Iſland, containing theſe three bays, drawn by a large ſcale, in plate the ſixteenth; where it appears, that *Cumberland Bay* is pretty well ſecured to the ſouthward, lying only expoſed from the N. by W. to the E. by S; and as the northerly winds ſeldom

blow in that climate, and never with any violence, the danger from that quarter is not worth attending to. To diſtinguiſh this bay the better at ſea, I have added a very exact view of it, in the 17th plate, which will enable all future Navigators readily to find it.

As the bay laſt deſcribed, or *Cumberland Bay*, is by far the moſt commodious road in the Iſland, ſo it is adviſeable for all ſhips to anchor on the weſtern ſide of this bay, within little more than two cables length of the beach. Here they may ride in forty fathom of water, and be, in a great meaſure, ſheltered from a large heavy ſea, which comes rolling in whenever an eaſtern or a weſtern wind blows. It is however expedient, in this caſe, to cackle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or ſix fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the foulneſs of the ground.

I have before obſerved, that a northerly wind, to which alone this bay is expoſed, very rarely blew during our ſtay here; and as it was then winter, it may be ſuppoſed, in other ſeaſons, to be leſs frequent. Indeed, in thoſe few inſtances, when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: But this perhaps might be owing to the highlands on the ſouthward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a few leagues off, it blew with conſiderable force, ſince it ſometimes drove before it a prodigious ſea, in which we rode fore-caſtle in. But though the northern winds are never to be

appre-

apprehended, yet the ſouthern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent guſts and ſqualls, which however rarely laſt longer than two or three minutes. This ſeems to be owing to the obſtruction of the ſouthern gale, by the hills in the neighbourhood of the bay; for the wind being collected by this means, at laſt forces its paſſage through the narrow vallies, which, like ſo many funnels, both facilitate its eſcape, and increaſe its violence. Theſe frequent and ſudden guſts make it difficult for ſhips to work in with the wind off ſhore, or to keep a clear hawſe when anchored.

The northern part of this Iſland is compoſed of high craggy hills, many of them inacceſſible, though generally covered with trees. The ſoil of this part is looſe and ſhallow, ſo that very large trees on the hills ſoon periſh for want of root, and are eaſily overturned; which occaſioned the unfortunate death of one of our ſailors, who being upon the hills in ſearch of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to aſſiſt him in his aſcent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill, and tho' in his fall he faſtened on another tree of conſiderable bulk, yet that too gave way, and he fell amongſt the rocks, and was daſhed to pieces. Mr. *Brett* too met with an accident only by reſting his back againſt a tree, near as large about as himſelf, which ſtood on a ſlope; for the tree giving way, he fell to a conſiderable diſtance, though without receiving any harm.

The ſouthern, or rather the S.W. part of the Iſland, as diſtinguiſhed in the plan, is widely different from the reſt, being dry, ſtony, and deſtitute of trees, but very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the Iſland is never frequented by ſhips, being ſurrounded by a ſteep ſhore, and having little or no freſh water; and beſides, it is expoſed to the ſoutherly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and in the winter ſolſtice very hard. The trees of which the woods on the northern ſide of the Iſland are compoſed, are moſt of them aromaticks, and of many different ſorts: There are none of them of a ſize to yield any conſiderable timber, except the myrtle-trees, which are the largeſt on the Iſland, and ſupplied us with all the timber we made uſe of; but even theſe would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle-tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular, as if it had been clipped by art; it bears on its bark an excreſcence like moſs, which in taſte and ſmell reſembles garlick, and was uſed by our people inſtead of it. We found here too the piemento-tree, and likewiſe the cabbage-tree, though in no great plenty.

Our priſoners obſerved, that the appearance of the hills in ſome part of the Iſland reſembled that of the mountains in *Chili*, where the gold is found: So that it is not impoſſible but mines might be diſcovered here. We obſerved, in

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ſome places, ſeveral hills of a peculiar ſort of red earth, exceeding vermilion in colour, which perhaps, on examination, might prove uſeful for many purpoſes.

Beſides a great number of plants of various kinds which are to be met with upon the Iſland, but which we were not botaniſts enough either to deſcribe, or attend to, we found there almoſt all the vegetables, which are uſually eſteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of thoſe ſcorbutick diſorders, which are contracted by ſalt diet and long voyages. For here we had great quantities of water-creſſes and purſlain, with excellent wild-ſorrel, and a vaſt profuſion of turnips and *Sicilian* radiſhes: Theſe two laſt, having ſome reſemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We uſually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which were often ſtringy; though ſome of them were free from that exception, and remarkably good. Theſe vegetables, with the fiſh and fleſh we found here, and which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe hereafter, were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long courſe of ſalt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewiſe of the moſt ſalutary conſequence to our ſick in recovering and invigorating them, and of no mean ſervice to us who were well, in deſtroying the lurking ſeeds of the ſcurvy, from which perhaps none of us were totally exempt, and in refreſhing and reſtoring us to our wonted ſtrength and activity.

Beſides the vegetables I have mentioned, of which we made perpetual uſe, we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were alſo ſome few cabbage-trees upon the Iſland, as obſerved before; but as they generally grew on the precipices, and in dangerous ſituations, and as it was neceſſary to cut down a large tree for every ſingle cabbage, this was a dainty that we were able but rarely to indulge in.

The excellence of the climate and the looſeneſs of the ſoil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and *Sicilian* radiſhes; and therefore Mr. *Anſon* having with him garden-ſeeds of all kinds, and ſtones of different ſorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who ſhould hereafter touch here, ſowed both lettices, carrots, and other garden plants, and ſet in the woods a great variety of plumb, apricock, and peach ſtones: And theſe laſt he has been informed have ſince thriven to a very remarkable degree; for ſome Gentlemen, who in their paſſage from *Lima* to *Old Spain* were taken and brought to *England*, having procured leave to wait upon Mr. *Anſon*, to thank him for his generoſity and humanity to his priſoners, ſome of whom were their relations, they, in caſual diſcourſe with him about his tranſactions in the *South-Seas*, particularly aſked him, if he had not planted a great number of fruit-ſtones on the

the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, for they told him, their late Navigators had diſcovered there numbers of peach-trees and apricock-trees, which being fruits before unobſerved in that place, they concluded them to be produced from kernels ſet by him.

And this may in general ſuffice as to the ſoil and vegetable productions of this place: But the face of the country, at leaſt of the North part of the Iſland, is ſo extremely ſingular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular conſideration. I have already taken notice of the wild, inhoſpitable air with which it firſt appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landſkip as we drew nearer, till we were at laſt captivated by the numerous beauties we diſcovered on the ſhore. And I muſt now add, that we found, during the time of our reſidence there, that the inland parts of the Iſland did no ways fall ſhort of the ſanguine prepoſſeſſions which we firſt entertained in their favour.

For the woods which covered moſt of the ſteepeſt hills, were free from all buſhes and underwood, and afforded an eaſy paſſage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the Iſland, neceſſarily traced out by their various combinations a great number of romantic vallies; moſt of which had a ſtream of the cleareſt water running through them, that tumbled in caſcades from rock to rock, as the

bottom of the valley, by the courſe of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a ſudden ſharp deſcent: Some particular ſpots occurred in theſe vallies, where the ſhade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftineſs of the overhanging rocks, and the tranſparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring ſtreams, preſented ſcenes of ſuch elegance and dignity, as would perhaps with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the ſimple productions of unaſſiſted nature may be ſaid to excel all the fictitious deſcriptions of the moſt animated imagination. I ſhall finiſh this article with a ſhort account of that ſpot where the Commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own reſidence, though I deſpair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. This piece of ground which he choſe was a ſmall lawn, that lay on a little aſcent, at the diſtance of about half a mile from the ſea. In the front of his tent there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the ſea-ſide, which ſloping to the water, with a gentle deſcent, opened a proſpect of the bay and the ſhips at anchor. This lawn was ſcreened behind by a tall wood of myrtle ſweeping round it, in the form of a theatre, the ground on which the wood ſtood, riſing with a much ſharper aſcent than the lawn itſelf, though not ſo much, but that the hills and precipices within land towered up conſiderably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the

the view. There were, beſides, two ſtreams of chryſtal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards diſtance, and were ſhaded by the trees which ſkirted the lawn on either ſide, and compleated the ſymmetry of the whole. Some faint conceptions of the elegance of this ſituation may perhaps be better deduced from the draught of it, to be ſeen in the 18th plate.

It remains now only that we ſpeak of the animals and proviſions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related, that this Iſland abounded with vaſt numbers of goats, and their accounts are not to be queſtioned, this place being the uſual haunt of the buccaneers, and privateers, who formerly frequented thoſe ſeas. And there are two inſtances; one of a *Muſquito Indian*, and the other of *Alexander Selkirk*, a *Scotchman*, who were left by their reſpective ſhips, and lived alone upon this Iſland for ſome years, and conſequently were no ſtrangers to its produce. *Selkirk*, who was the laſt, after a ſtay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Ducheſs Privateers of *Briſtol*, as may be ſeen at large in the journal of their voyage: His manner of life, during his ſolitude, was in moſt particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumſtance he relates, which was ſo ſtrangely verified by our own obſervation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, among other things, as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he

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ſometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the Iſland. Now it happened, that the firſt goat that was killed by our people at their landing had his ears ſlit, whence we concluded, that he had doubtleſs been formerly under the power of *Selkirk*. This was indeed an animal of a moſt venerable aſpect, dignified with an exceeding majeſtic beard, and with many other ſymptoms of antiquity. During our ſtay on the Iſland, we met with others marked in the ſame manner, all the males being diſtinguiſhed by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteriſtick of extreme age.

But the great numbers of goats, which former writers deſcribed to have been found upon this Iſland, are at preſent very much diminiſhed: For the *Spaniards* being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the proviſions which goats-fleſh here furniſhed them with, they have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpoſe, they have put on ſhore great numbers of large dogs, who have encreaſed apace and have deſtroyed all the goats in the acceſſible part of the country; ſo that there now remain only a few amongſt the craggs and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. Theſe are divided into ſeparate herds of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit diſtinct faſtneſſes, and never mingle with each other: By this means we found it extremely difficult

difficult to kill them; and yet we were ſo deſirous of their fleſh, which we all agreed much reſembled veniſon, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds, and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they ſcarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole Iſland. I remember we had once an opportunity of obſerving a remarkable diſpute betwixt a herd of theſe animals and a number of dogs; for going in our boat into the eaſtern bay, we ſaw ſome dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to diſcover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars ſome time to view them, and at laſt we ſaw them take to a hill, and looking a little further, we obſerved upon the ridge of it an herd of goats, which ſeemed drawn up for their reception; there was a very narrow path ſkirted on each ſide by precipices, on which the Maſter of the herd poſted himſelf fronting the enemy, the reſt of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open: As this ſpot was inacceſſible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himſelf, the dogs, though they ran up-hill with great alacrity, yet when they came within about twenty yards of him, durſt not encounter him, (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice) but gave over the chace, and quietly laid themſelves down, panting at a great rate.

The dogs, who, as I have mentioned, are maſters of all the acceſſible parts of the Iſland,

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are of various kinds, but ſome of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They ſometimes came down to our habitations at night, and ſtole our proviſion; and once or twice they ſet upon ſingle perſons, but aſſiſtance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any miſchief. As at preſent it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young ſeals; and indeed ſome of our people had the curioſity to kill dogs ſometimes and dreſs them, and they ſeemed to agree that they had a fiſhy taſte.

Goats-fleſh, as I have mentioned, being ſcarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a day, and our people growing tired of fiſh, (which, as I ſhall hereafter obſerve, abounds at this place) they at laſt condeſcended to eat ſeals, which by degrees they came to reliſh, and called it lamb. The ſeal, numbers of which haunt this Iſland, hath been ſo often deſcribed by former writers, that it is unneceſſary to ſay any thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a ſea lion, that bears ſome reſemblance to a ſeal, though it is much larger. This too we eat under the denomination of beef; and as it is ſo extraordinary an animal, I conceive, it well merits a particular annotation. They are in ſize, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference: They are extremely fat, ſo that after having cut thro' the ſkin, which is about an inch in thickneſs, there is at leaſt a foot

of

of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once, that the fat of ſome of the largeſt afforded us a butt of oil. They are likewiſe very full of blood, for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will inſtantly guſh out as many fountains of blood, ſpouting to a conſiderable diſtance; and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we ſhot one firſt, and then cut its throat, and meaſuring the blood that came from him, we found, that beſides what remained in the veſſels, which to be ſure was conſiderable, we got at leaſt two hogſheads. Their ſkins are covered with ſhort hair of a light dun colour, but their tails and their fins, which ſerve them for feet on ſhore, are almoſt black; their fins or feet are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of theſe extremities is furniſhed with a nail. They have a diſtant reſemblance to an overgrown ſeal, though in ſome particulars there is a manifeſt difference, eſpecially in the males, who have a large ſnout or trunk hanging down five or ſix inches below the end of the upper jaw; this particular the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and beſides, the males are of a much larger ſize. The form and appearance both of male and female are very exactly repreſented in the 19th plate, only the diſproportion of their ſize is not uſually ſo great as is there exhibited, for the male was drawn from the life, after the largeſt of theſe animals,

which

which was found upon the Iſland : He was the maſter of the flock, and from his driving off the other males, and keeping a great number of females to himſelf, he was by the ſeamen ludicrouſly ſtiled the Baſhaw. Theſe animals divide their time equally between the land and ſea, continuing at ſea all the ſummer, and coming on ſhore at the ſetting in of the winter, where they reſide during that whole ſeaſon. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth ; theſe they ſuckle with their milk, they being at firſt about the ſize of a full-grown ſeal. During the time of theſe animals continuance on ſhore, they feed on the graſs and verdure which grows near the bank of the freſh-water ſtreams ; and, when not employed in feeding, ſleep in herds in the moſt miry places they can find out. As they ſeem to be of a very lethargic diſpoſition, and not eaſily awakened, each herd was obſerved to place ſome of their males at a diſtance in the nature of ſentinels, who never failed to alarm them, whenever our men attempted to moleſt, or even to approach them ; and they were very capable of alarming, even at a conſiderable diſtance, for the noiſe they make is very loud and of different kinds, ſometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times ſnorting like horſes in full vigour. They often, eſpecially the males, have furious battles which each other, principally about their females ; and we were one day extremely ſurprized by the ſight of two animals, which at firſt appeared different from all we had ever obſerved ;

ſerved; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two ſea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood: And the Baſhaw before-mentioned, who generally lay ſurrounded with a ſeraglio of females, which no other male dared to approach, had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody conteſts, of which the marks ſtill remained in the numerous ſcars which were viſible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we eſteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to thoſe of bullocks: And in general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of eſcaping or reſiſting, their motion being the moſt unweildy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their ſkins. However, a ſailor one day being careleſsly employed in ſkinning a young ſea-lion, the female, from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, ſhe with her teeth ſcored his ſkull in notches in many places, and thereby wounded him ſo deſperately, that though all poſſible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

Theſe are the principal animals which we found upon the Iſland: For we ſaw but few birds, and thoſe chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and humming birds. We ſaw not the Pardela, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here; but as

we met with their holes, we ſuppoſed that the dogs had deſtroyed them, as they have almoſt done the cats, which were very numerous in *Selkirk*'s time, but we ſaw not above one or two during our whole ſtay. However, the rats ſtill keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troubleſome to us, by infeſting our tents nightly.

But that which furniſhed us with the moſt delicious repaſts at this Iſland, remains ſtill to be deſcribed. This was the fiſh, with which the whole bay was moſt plentifully ſtored, and with the greateſt variety: For we found here cod of a prodigious ſize; and by the report of ſome of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the *Newfoundland* fiſhery, not in leſs plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that Iſland. We caught alſo cavallies, gropers, large breams maids, ſilver fiſh, congers of a peculiar kind, and above all, a black fiſh which we moſt eſteemed, called by ſome a Chimney ſweeper, in ſhape reſembling a carp. Indeed the beach is every where ſo full of rocks and looſe ſtones, that there is no poſſibility of haling the Seyne; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleaſed, ſo that a boat with two or three lines would return loaded with fiſh in about two or three hours time. The only interruption we ever met with, aroſe from great quantities of dog-fiſh and large ſharks, which ſometimes attended our boats and prevented our ſport. Beſides the fiſh we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection,

both

both as to ſize, flavour and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world: This was ſea cra-fiſh; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds apiece, were of a moſt excellent taſte, and lay in ſuch abundance near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often ſtruck into them, in putting the boat to and from the ſhore.

Theſe are the moſt material articles relating to the accommodations, ſoil, vegetables, animals, and other productions of the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*: By which it muſt appear, how properly that place was adapted for recovering us from the deplorable ſituation to which our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape *Horn* had reduced us. And having thus given the reader ſome idea of the ſite and circumſtances of this place, which was to be our reſidence for three months, I ſhall now proceed, in the next chapter, to relate all that occurred to us in that interval, reſuming my narration from the 18th day of *June*, being the day in which the *Tryal* Sloop, having by a ſquall been driven out to ſea three days before, came again to her moorings, the day in which we finiſhed the ſending our ſick on ſhore, and about eight days after our firſt anchoring at this Iſland.

CHAP. II.

The arrival of the *Glouceſter* and the *Anne Pink* at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, and the tranſactions at that place during this interval.

THE arrival of the *Tryal* Sloop at this Iſland, ſo ſoon after we came there ourſelves, gave us great hopes of being ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the ſquadron; and we were for ſome days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in ſight. But near a fortnight being elapſed, without any of them having appeared, we began to deſpair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that, had our ſhip continued ſo much longer at ſea, we ſhould every man of us have periſhed, and the veſſel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves: And this we had great reaſon to fear was the fate of our conſorts, as each hour added to the probability of theſe deſponding ſuggeſtions.

But on the 21ſt of *June*, ſome of our people, from an eminence on ſhore, diſcerned a ſhip to leeward, with her courſes even with the horizon: and they, at the ſame time, particularly obſerved, that ſhe had no ſail abroad except her courſes and her main top-ſail. This circumſtance made them conclude that it was one of our ſquadron, which had probably ſuffered in her

her ſails and rigging as ſeverely as we had done: But they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a ſhort time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they loſt ſight of her. On this report, and no ſhip appearing for ſome days, we were all under the greateſt concern, ſuſpecting that her people were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, and ſo diminiſhed and weakened by ſickneſs, as not to be able to ply up to windward; ſo that we feared that, after having been in ſight of the Iſland, her whole crew would notwithſtanding periſh at ſea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we diſcerned a ſail in the North-Eaſt quarter, which we conceived to be the very ſame ſhip that had been ſeen before, and our conjectures proved true; and about one o'clock ſhe approached ſo near, that we could diſtinguiſh her to be the *Glouceſter*. As we had no doubt of her being in great diſtreſs, the Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her aſſiſtance, laden with freſh water, fiſh and vegetables, which was a very ſeaſonable relief to them; for our apprehenſions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a more diſtreſſed ſituation. They had already thrown over-board two thirds of their complement, and of thoſe that remained alive, ſcarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their ſervants. They had been a conſiderable time at the ſmall allowance

of a pint of freſh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had ſo little left, that, had it not been for the ſupply we ſent them, they muſt ſoon have died of thirſt. The ſhip plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, ſhe could not reach the road. However, ſhe continued in the offing the next day, but had no chance of coming to an anchor, unleſs the wind and currents ſhifted; and therefore the Commodore repeated his aſſiſtance, ſending to her the *Tryal*'s boat manned with the *Centurion*'s people, and a farther ſupply of water and other refreſhments. Captain *Mitchel*, the Captain of the *Glouceſter*, was under a neceſſity of detaining both this boat and that ſent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews he had no longer ſtrength enough to navigate the ſhip. In this tantalizing ſituation the *Glouceſter* continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at ſome times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of *July*, we obſerved her ſtretching away to the eaſtward at a conſiderable diſtance, which we ſuppoſed was with a deſign to get to the ſouthward of the Iſland; but as we ſoon loſt ſight of her, and ſhe did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiouſly concerned, knowing that ſhe muſt be again in extreme diſtreſs for want of water. After great impatience about her, we diſcovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eaſtern point of the Iſland; but the wind, ſtill blowing directly from the

the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this, Captain *Mitchel* made ſignals of diſtreſs, and our long-boat was ſent to him with a ſtore of water, and plenty of fiſh, and other refreſhments. And the long-boat being not to be ſpared, the Cock-ſwain had poſitive orders from the Commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving ſtormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared ſhe was loſt, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all: But, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety, by the joyful ſight of the long-boat's ſails upon the water; and we ſent the Cutter immediately to her aſſiſtance, who towed her along-ſide in a few hours. The crew of our long-boat had taken in ſix of the *Glouceſter*'s ſick men to bring them on ſhore, two of which had died in the boat. And now we learnt that the *Glouceſter* was in a moſt dreadful condition, having ſcarcely a man in health on board, except thoſe they received from us; and, numbers of their ſick dying daily, we found that, had it not been for the laſt ſupply ſent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diſeaſed muſt have all periſhed together for want of water. And theſe calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: For the *Glouceſter* had already ſpent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and ſhe was now no farther advanced than at the firſt moment ſhe made the Iſland; on the con-

trary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever ſucceeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the ſame day her ſituation grew more deſperate than ever, for after ſhe had received our laſt ſupply of refreſhments, we again loſt ſight of her; ſo that we in general deſpaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy veſſel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilſt the neighbourhood of that place and of thoſe circumſtances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, ſerved only to aggravate their diſtreſs, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But ſhe was at laſt delivered from this dreadful ſituation, at a time when we leaſt expected it; for after having loſt ſight of her for ſeveral days, we were pleaſingly ſurprized, on the morning of the 23d of *July*, to ſee her open the N. W. point of the bay with a flowing ſail; when we immediately diſpatched what boats we had to her aſſiſtance, and in an hour's time from our firſt perceiving her, ſhe anchored ſafe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the aſſiſtance and refreſhments we ſo often ſent them, and how impoſſible it would have been for a man of them to have ſurvived, had we given leſs attention to their wants; for notwithſtanding the water, the greens, and freſh proviſions which we ſupplied them with,

with, and the hands we ſent them to navigate the ſhip, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminiſhed, their ſick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithſtanding this indulgent care of the Commodore, they yet buried three fourths of their crew, and a very ſmall proportion of the remainder were capable of aſſiſting in the duty of the ſhip. On their coming to an anchor, our firſt care was to aſſiſt them in mooring, and our next to ſend the ſick on ſhore: Theſe were now reduced by deaths to leſs than fourſcore, of which we expected to loſe the greateſt part; but whether it was, that thoſe fartheſt advanced in the diſtemper were all dead, or that the greens and freſh proviſions we had ſent on board had prepared thoſe which remained for a more ſpeedy recovery, it happened contrary to our expectations, that their ſick were in general relieved and reſtored to their ſtrength, in a much ſhorter time than our own had been when we firſt came to the Iſland, and very few of them died on ſhore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events relating to the arrival of the *Glouceſter*, in one continued narration: I ſhall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ſhips, except our Victualler, the *Anna Pink*, who came in about the middle of *Auguſt*, and whoſe hiſtory I ſhall more particularly relate hereafter. And I ſhall now return to the account of our own tranſactions on board and on ſhore, during the interval of the *Glouceſter*'s

frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach the Iſland.

Our next employment, after ſending our ſick on ſhore from the *Centurion*, was cleanſing our ſhip and filling our water. The firſt of theſe meaſures was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our future health, as the numbers of ſick, and the unavoidable negligence ariſing from our deplorable ſituation at ſea, had rendered the decks moſt intolerably loathſome. And the filling our water was a caution that appeared not leſs eſſential to our future ſecurity, as we had reaſon to apprehend that accidents might oblige us to quit the Iſland at a very ſhort warning; for ſome Appearances, which we had diſcovered on ſhore upon our firſt landing, gave us grounds to believe, that there were *Spaniſh* cruiſers in theſe ſeas, which had left the Iſland but a ſhort time before our arrival, and might poſſibly return there again, either for a recruit of water, or in ſearch of us; for as we could not doubt, but that the ſole buſineſs they had at ſea was to intercept us, and we knew that this Iſland was the likelieſt place, in their own opinion, to meet with us. The circumſtances, which gave riſe to theſe reflections (in part of which we were not miſtaken, as ſhall be obſerved more at large hereafter) were our finding on ſhore ſeveral pieces of earthen jars, made uſe of in thoſe ſeas for water and other liquids, which appeared to be freſh broken: We ſaw too many heaps of aſhes, and near them fiſh-bones and pieces of fiſh,

fiſh, beſides whole fiſh ſcattered here and there; which plainly appeared to have been but a ſhort time out of the water, as they were but juſt beginning to decay. Theſe appearances were certain indications that there had been ſhips at this place but a ſhort time before we came there; and as all *Spaniſh* Merchant-men are inſtructed to avoid the Iſland, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded thoſe who had touched here to be ſhips of force; and not knowing that *Pizarro* was returned to *Buenos Ayres*, and ignorant what ſtrength might have been fitted out at *Callao*, we were under ſome concern for our ſafety, being in ſo wretched and enfeebled a condition, that notwithſtanding the rank of our ſhip, and the ſixty guns ſhe carried on board, which would only have aggravated our diſhonour, there was ſcarcely a privateer ſent to ſea, that was not an over-match for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary, and we were not expoſed to the diſgrace, which might have been expected to have befallen us, had we been neceſſitated (as we muſt have been, had the enemy appeared) to fight our ſixty-gun ſhip with no more than thirty hands.

Whilſt the cleaning our ſhip and the filling our water went on, we ſet up a large copper-oven on ſhore near the ſick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ſhip's company, being extremely deſirous of recovering our ſick as ſoon as poſſible, and conceiving that new bread

bread added to their greens and freſh fiſh, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reaſon to endeavour at the augmenting our preſent ſtrength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be inſignificant, was extremely alarming in our preſent helpleſs ſituation: Of this, we had a troubleſome inſtance on the 30th of *June*; for at five in the morning, we were aſtoniſhed by a violent guſt of wind directly off ſhore, which inſtantly parted our ſmall bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: The ſhip at once ſwung off to the beſt bower, which happily ſtood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eight fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen ſeamen in the ſhip, and we were apprehenſive, if the ſquall continued, that we ſhould be driven to ſea in this wretched condition. However, we ſent the boat on ſhore, to bring off all that were capable of acting; and the wind, ſoon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional ſtrength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we ſuſpected had received ſome damage from the foulneſs of the ground before it parted; and agreeable to our conjecture, we found that ſeven fathom and a half of the outer end had been rubbed, and rendered unſerviceable. In the afternoon, we bent the cable to the ſpare anchor, and got it over the ſhip's ſide; and the

next morning, *July* 1, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ſhip in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom; the eaſtermoſt point now bearing from us E. ½ S; the weſtermoſt N. W. by W; and the bay as before, S. S. W; a ſituation, in which we remained ſecure for the future. But we were much concerned for the loſs of our anchor, and ſwept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but the buoy having ſunk at the very inſtant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now as we advanced in *July*, ſome of our men being tolerably recovered, the ſtrongeſt of them were employed in cutting down trees, and ſplitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water-ſide: This they performed, ſome of them with the help of crutches, and others ſupported by a ſingle ſtick. We next ſent the forge on ſhore, and employed our ſmiths, who were but juſt capable of working, in mending our chain-plates, and our other broken and decayed iron work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not a ſufficient quantity of junk to make ſpun-yarn, we deferred the general overhale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the *Glouceſter*, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might make as great diſpatch as poſſible in our refitting, we ſet up a large tent on the beach for the ſail-makers; and

and they were immediately employed in repairing our old ſails, and making us new ones.

Theſe occupations, with our cleanſing and watering the ſhip, (which was by this time pretty well compleated) the attendance on our ſick, and the frequent relief ſent to the *Glouceſter*, were the principal tranſactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the *Glouceſter* at an anchor in the bay. And then Captain *Mitchel* waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his laſt abſence, as far as the ſmall Iſland called *Maſa-Fuero*, lying about twenty-two leagues to the weſtward of *Juan Fernandes*; and that he endeavoured to ſend his boat on ſhore at this place for water, of which he could obſerve ſeveral ſtreams, but the wind blew ſo ſtrong upon the ſhore, and occaſioned ſuch a ſurf, that it was impoſſible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether uſeleſs, as they returned with a boat load of fiſh. This Iſland had been repreſented by former Navigators as a barren rock; but Captain *Mitchel* aſſured the Commodore, that it was almoſt every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added, that it appeared to him far from impoſſible, but ſome ſmall bay might be found on it, which might afford ſufficient ſhelter for any ſhip deſirous of refreſhing there.

As four ſhips of our ſquadron were miſſing, this deſcription of the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero* gave riſe to a conjecture, that ſome of them might poſſibly have fallen in with that Iſland, and have miſtaken

miſtaken it for the true place of our rendezvous; and this ſuſpicion was the more plauſible, as we had no draught of either Iſland that could be relied on. In conſequence of this reaſoning, Mr. *Anſon* determined to ſend the *Tryal* Sloop thither, as ſoon as ſhe could be fitted for the ſea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be ſatisfied whether any of our miſſing ſhips were there or not. For this purpoſe, ſome of our beſt hands were ſent on board the *Tryal* the next morning, to overhale and fix her rigging; and our long boat was employed in compleating her water; and whatever ſtores and neceſſaries ſhe wanted, were immediately ſupplied, either from the *Centurion* or the *Glouceſter*. But it was the 4th of *Auguſt* before the *Tryal* was in readineſs to ſail, when having weighed, it ſoon after fell calm, and the tide ſet her very near the eaſtern ſhore: Captain *Saunders* hung out lights, and fired ſeveral guns to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were ſent to his relief, who towed the Sloop into the bay; where ſhe anchored until the next morning, and then weighed again, proceeded on her cruize with a fair breeze.

And now after the *Glouceſter*'s arrival, we were employed in earneſt in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the ſtripping our foremaſt, we were alarmed by diſcovering it was ſprung juſt above the partners of the upper deck. The ſpring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; but the Carpenters inſpecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fiſhing it with two

leaves

leaves of an anchor ſtock, would render it as ſecure as ever. But our greateſt difficulty in refitting was the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to ſea much greater quantities of both, than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with, had occaſioned ſuch a conſumption of theſe ſtores, that we were driven to great ſtraits: For after working up all our junk and old ſhrouds, to make twice-laid cordage, we were at laſt obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging. And with all the canvas, and remnants of old ſails that could be muſtered, we could only make up one compleat ſuit.

Towards the middle of *Auguſt* our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their ſick tents, and to build ſeparate huts for themſelves, as it was imagined, that by living apart, they would be much cleanlier, and conſequently like to recover their ſtrength the ſooner; but at the ſame time particular orders were given, that on the firing of a gun from the ſhip, they ſhould inſtantly repair to the water-ſide. Their employment on ſhore was now either the procuring of refreſhments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the ſea-lions. This oil ſerved us for ſeveral uſes, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ſhips ſides, or, when mixed with wood-aſhes, to ſupply the uſe of tallow, of which we had none left, to give the ſhip boot-hoſe tops. Some of the men too were occupied in ſalting of cod; for there being two *Newfoundland* fiſher-

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men in the *Centurion*, the Commodore made uſe of them in laying in a conſiderable quantity of ſalted cod for a ſea-ſtore; but very little of it was made uſe of, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the ſcurvy, as any other kind of ſalt proviſions.

I have before-mentioned, that we had a copper-oven on ſhore to bake bread for the ſick; but it happened that the greateſt part of the flower, for the uſe of the ſquadron, was embarked on board our Victualler the *Anna Pink*: And I ſhould have mentioned, that the *Tryal* Sloop, at her arrival, had informed us, that on the 9th of *May* ſhe had fallen in with our Victualler, not far diſtant from the Continent of *Chili*; and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This gave us ſome room to hope that ſhe was ſafe, and that ſhe might ſoon join us; but all *June* and *July* being paſt without any news of her, we ſuſpected ſhe was loſt; and at the end of *July* the Commodore ordered all the ſhips to a ſhort allowance of bread. And it was not in our bread only, that we feared a deficiency; for ſince our arrival at this Iſland, we diſcovered that our former Purſer had neglected to take on board large quantities of ſeveral kinds of proviſions, which the Commodore had expreſsly ordered him to receive; ſo that the ſuppoſed loſs of our Victualler, was on all accounts a mortifying conſideration. However, on *Sunday*, the 16th of *Auguſt*, about noon, we eſpied a ſail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediate-

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ly fired from the *Centurion*, to call off the people from ſhore; who readily obeyed the ſummons, and repaired to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And now being prepared for the reception of this ſhip in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various ſpeculations about her; at firſt, many imagined it to be the *Tryal* Sloop returned from her cruize; but as ſhe drew nearer this opinion was confuted, by obſerving ſhe was a veſſel with three maſts; and then other conjectures were eagerly canvaſſed, ſome judging it to be the *Severn*, others the *Pearl*, and ſeveral affirming that it did not belong to our ſquadron: But about three in the afternoon our diſputes were ended, by an unanimous perſuaſion that it was our Victualler the *Anna Pink*. This ſhip, though, like the *Glouceſter*, ſhe had fallen in to the northward of the Iſland, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay, at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the ſincereſt joy; for each ſhip's company was now reſtored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehenſions of our proviſions falling ſhort, before we could reach ſome amicable port; a calamity, which in theſe ſeas is of all others the moſt irretrievable. This was the laſt ſhip that joined us; and the dangers ſhe encountered, and the good fortune which ſhe afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a ſeparate narration, I ſhall refer them, together with a ſhort account of the other ſhips of the ſquadron, to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A ſhort narrative of what befel the *Anna Pink* before ſhe joined us, with an account of the loſs of the *Wager*, and of the putting back of the *Severn* and *Pearl*, the two remaining ſhips of the ſquadron.

ON the firſt appearance of the *Anna Pink*, it ſeemed wonderful to us how the crew of a veſſel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, ſhould be capable of working their ſhip in the manner they did, with ſo little appearance of debility and diſtreſs: But this difficulty was ſoon ſolved when ſhe came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in harbour ſince the middle of *May*, which was near a month before we arrived at *Juan Fernandes*: So that their ſufferings (the riſque they had run of ſhipwreck only excepted) were greatly ſhort of what had been undergone by the reſt of the ſquadron. It ſeems, on the 16th of *May*, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues diſtant, in the latitude of 45° : 15′ South. On the firſt ſight of it they wore ſhip and ſtood to the ſouthward, but their fore-topſail ſplitting, and the wind being W. S. W, they drove towards the ſhore; and the Captain at laſt, either unable to clear the land, or as others ſay, reſolved to keep the ſea no longer, ſteered for the coaſt, with a view of diſcovering ſome ſhelter

amongſt the many Iſlands which then appeared in ſight: And about four hours after the firſt view of the land, the *Pink* had the good fortune to come to an anchor, to the eaſtward of the Iſland of *Inchin*; but as they did not run ſufficiently near to the Eaſt-ſhore of that Iſland, and had not hands to veer away the cable briſkly, they were ſoon driven to the eaſtward, deepning their water from twenty-five fathom to thirty-five, and ſtill continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of *May*, let go their ſheet anchor; which, though it brought them up for a ſhort time, yet, on the 18th, they drove again, till they came into ſixty-five fathom water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on ſhore every moment, in a place where the coaſt was very high and ſteep to, that there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſaving the ſhip or cargo; and their boats being very leaky, and there being no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew, conſiſting of ſixteen men and boys, gave themſelves over for loſt, for they apprehended, that if any of them by ſome extraordinary chance ſhould get on ſhore, they would, in all probability, be maſſacred by the Savages on the coaſt: For theſe, knowing no other *Europeans* but *Spaniards*, it might be expected they would treat all ſtrangers with the ſame cruelty which they had ſo often and ſo ſignally exerted againſt their *Spaniſh* neighbours. Under theſe terrifying circumſtances the *Pink* drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the ſhore; but at laſt, when the crew expected each inſtant

to

to ſtrike, they perceived a ſmall opening in the land, which raiſed their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they ſteered for it, and found it to be a ſmall channel betwixt an Iſland and the Main, which led them into a moſt excellent harbour, which, for its ſecurity againſt all winds and ſwells, and the ſmoothneſs of its waters, may perhaps compare with any in the known world. And this place being ſcarcely two miles diſtant from the ſpot where they deemed their deſtruction inevitable, the horrors of ſhipwreck and of immediate death, which had ſo long, and ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed them, vaniſhed almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of ſecurity, repoſe, and refreſhment.

In this harbour, diſcovered in this almoſt miraculous manner, the *Pink* came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, with only a hawſer, and a ſmall anchor of about three hundred weight. And here ſhe continued for near two months, refreſhing her people, who were many of them ill of the ſcurvy, but were ſoon reſtored to perfect health by the freſh proviſions, of which they procured good ſtore, and the excellent water with which the adjacent ſhore abounded. But as this place may prove of the greateſt importance to future Navigators, who may be forced upon this coaſt by the weſterly winds, which are almoſt perpetual in that part of the world; I ſhall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the *Pink*, give the beſt ac-

count I could collect of this Port, its ſituation, conveniencies and productions.

To facilitate the knowledge of this place to thoſe who may hereafter be deſirous of making uſe of it, there is, in the 20th Plate, a plan both of the harbour itſelf, and of the large bay before it, through which the *Pink* drove. This plan is not perhaps in all reſpects ſo accurate as might be wiſhed, it being compoſed from the memorandums and rude ſketches of the Maſter and Surgeon; who were not, I preſume, the ableſt draughts-men. But as the principal parts were laid down by their eſtimated diſtances from each other, in which kind of eſtimations it is well known the greateſt part of ſailors are very dextrous, I ſuppoſe the errors are not very conſiderable. Its latitude, which is indeed an important point, is not well aſcertained, the *Pink* having no obſervation either the day before ſhe came here, or within a day of her leaving it: But it is ſuppoſed that it is not very diſtant from 45° : 30′ South, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour renders this uncertainty the leſs material. The Iſland of *Inchin* lying before the bay is ſuppoſed to be one of the Iſlands of *Chonos*, which are mentioned in the *Spaniſh* accounts, as ſpreading all along that coaſt; and are ſaid by them to be inhabited by a barbarous people, famous for their hatred of the *Spaniards*, and for their cruelties to ſuch of that Nation as have fallen into their hands: And it is poſſible too that the land, near which the harbour itſelf lies, may be another of thoſe Iſlands, and that the

the Continent may be conſiderably farther to the eaſtward. The depths of water in the different parts of the Port, and the channels by which it communicates with the bay, are ſufficiently marked in the plan. But it muſt be remembred, that there are two coves in it where ſhips may conveniently heave down, the water being conſtantly ſmooth: And there are ſeveral fine runs of excellent freſh water, which fall into the harbour, and ſome of them ſo luckily ſituated, that the caſks may be filled in the long-boat with an hoſe: The moſt remarkable of theſe runs is the ſtream marked in the N. E. part of the Port. This is a freſh water river, and here the *Pink*'s people got ſome few mullets of an excellent flavour; and they were perſuaded that, in a proper ſeaſon (it being winter when they were there) it abounded with fiſh. The principal refreſhments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, *&c.* (which after ſo long a continuance at ſea they devoured with great eagerneſs); ſhell-fiſh, as cockles and muſcles of an extraordinary ſize, and extremely delicious; and good ſtore of geeſe, ſhags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous; nor the trees, and the face of the country deſtitute of verdure; and doubtleſs in the ſummer many other ſpecies of freſh proviſion, beſides theſe here enumerated, might be found there. And notwithſtanding the tales of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it doth not appear that their numbers are ſuffi-

cient to give the leaſt jealouſy to any ſhip of ordinary force, or their diſpoſition is by any means ſo miſchievous or mercileſs as hath hitherto been repreſented: And beſides all theſe advantages, it is ſo far removed from the *Spaniſh* frontier, and ſo little known to the *Spaniards* themſelves, that there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that with proper precautions a ſhip might continue here undiſcovered for a long time. It is alſo a place of great defence; for by poſſeſſing the Iſland that cloſes up the harbour, and which is acceſſible in very few places, a ſmall force might defend this Port againſt all the ſtrength the *Spaniards* could muſter in that part of the world; for this Iſland towards the harbour is ſteep too, and has ſix fathom water cloſe to the ſhore, ſo that the *Pink* anchored within forty yards of it: Whence it is obvious how impoſſible it would prove, either to board or to cut out any veſſel protected by a force poſted on ſhore within piſtol-ſhot, and where thoſe who were thus poſted could not themſelves be attacked. All theſe circumſtances ſeem to render this place worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped, that the important uſes which this rude account of it ſeems to ſuggeſt, may hereafter recommend it to the conſideration of the Public, and to the attention of thoſe who are more immediately intruſted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this deſcription of the place where the *Pink* lay for two months, it may be expected that I ſhould relate the diſcoveries made by the

crew

crew on the adjacent coaſt, and the principal incidents during their ſtay here: But here I muſt obſerve, that, being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on diſtant diſcoveries; for they were perpetually terrified with the apprehenſion that they ſhould be attacked either by the *Spaniards* or the *Indians*; ſo that their excurſions were generally confined to that tract of land which ſurrounded the Port, and where they were never out of view of the ſhip. But even had they at firſt known how little foundation there was for thoſe fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was ſo grown up with wood, and traverſed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it: So that no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to diſprove the relations given by *Spaniſh* writers, who had repreſented this coaſt as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people: For they were certain that no ſuch inhabitants were there to be found, at leaſt during the winter ſeaſon; ſince all the time they continued there, they ſaw no more than one *Indian* family, which came into the harbour in a perigua, about a month after the arrival of the *Pink*, and conſiſted of an *Indian* near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age, and the other ſtill at the breaſt. They ſeemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog, and a cat, a fiſhing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, ſome bark of trees intended for the covering a hut, a reed, ſome

worſted, a flint and ſteel, and a few roots of a yellow hue and a very diſagreeable taſte, which ſerved them for bread. The Maſter of the *Pink*, as ſoon as he perceived them, ſent his yawl, who brought them on board; and fearing, leſt they might diſcover him if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for ſecuring them, but without any mixture of ill uſage or violence: For in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleaſed about the ſhip, but at night were locked up in the fore-caſtle. As they were fed in the ſame manner with the reſt of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they ſeemed greatly to reliſh, it did not at firſt appear that they were much diſſatisfied with their ſituation, eſpecially as the Maſter took the *Indian* on ſhore when he went a ſhooting, (who always ſeemed extremely delighted when the Maſter killed his game) and as all the crew treated them with great humanity: But it was ſoon perceived, that though the woman continued eaſy and chearful, yet the man grew penſive and reſtleſs at his confinement. He ſeemed to be a perſon of good natural parts, and though not capable of converſing with the *Pink*'s people, otherwiſe than by ſigns, was yet very curious and inquiſitive, and ſhowed great dexterity in the manner of making himſelf underſtood. In particular, ſeeing ſo few people on board ſuch a large ſhip, he let them know, that he ſuppoſed they were once more numerous: And to repreſent to them what he imagined

gined was become of their companions, he laid himſelf down on the deck, cloſing his eyes, and ſtretching himſelf out motionleſs, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the ſtrongeſt proof of his ſagacity was the manner of his getting away; for after being in cuſtody on board the *Pink* eight days, the ſcuttle of the fore-caſtle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be unnailed, and the following night being extremely dark and ſtormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed ſcuttle, and then over the ſhip's ſide in the yawl; and to prevent being purſued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing a-ſtern, and immediately rowed aſhore. All this he conducted with ſo much diligence and ſecrecy, that though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded-arms, yet he was not diſcovered by them, till the noiſe of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ſhip, gave them notice of his eſcape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or to purſue him; for, their boats being all a-driſt, it was a conſiderable time before they could contrive the means of getting on ſhore themſelves to ſearch for their boats. The *Indian* too by this effort, beſides the recovery of his liberty, was in ſome ſort revenged on thoſe who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loſs of their boats, and by the terror he threw them into at his departure; for on the firſt alarm of the watch, who cried out, *The Indians*

Indians, the whole ſhip was in the utmoſt confuſion, believing themſelves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periagua's.

The reſolution and ſagacity with which the *Indian* behaved upon this occaſion, had it been exerted on a more extenſive object than the retrieving the freedom of a ſingle family, might perhaps have immortalized the exploit, and have given him a rank amongſt the illuſtrious names of antiquity. Indeed his late Maſters did ſo much juſtice to his merit, as to own that it was a moſt gallant enterprize, and that they were grieved they had ever been neceſſitated, by their attention to their own ſafety, to abridge the liberty of a perſon, of whoſe prudence and courage they had now ſuch a diſtinguiſhed proof. And as it was ſuppoſed by ſome of them that he ſtill continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might ſuffer for want of proviſions, they eaſily prevailed upon the Maſter to leave a quantity of ſuch food, as they thought would be moſt agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: And there was reaſon to conjecture, that this piece of humanity was not altogether uſeleſs to him; for, on viſiting the place ſometime after, it was found that the proviſion was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But however, though many of them were ſatisfied that this *Indian* ſtill continued near them; yet others would needs conclude, that

he was gone to the Iſland of *Chiloe*, where they feared he would alarm the *Spaniards*, and would ſoon return with a force ſufficient to ſurprize the *Pink*: And on this occaſion the Maſter of the *Pink* was prevailed on to omit firing the evening-gun; for it muſt be remembered, (and there is a particular reaſon hereafter for attending to this circumſtance) that the Maſter, from an oſtentatious imitation of the practice of Men of War, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the ſetting of the watch. This he pretended was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the *Pink* was always on her guard; but it being now repreſented to him, that his great ſecurity was his concealment, and that the evening-gun might poſſibly diſcover him, and ſerve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on, as has been mentioned, to omit it for the future: And his crew being now well refreſhed, and their wood and water ſufficiently repleniſhed, he, in a few days after the eſcape of the *Indian*, put to ſea, and had a fortunate paſſage to the rendezvous at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, where he arrived on the 16th of *Auguſt*, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter.

This veſſel, the *Anna Pink*, was, as I have obſerved, the laſt that joined the Commodore at *Juan Fernandes*. The remaining ſhips of the ſquadron were the *Severn* and *Pearl*, and the *Wager* ſtore-ſhip: The *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the ſquadron off Cape *Noir*, and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the *Brazils*:

So

So that of all the ſhips which came into the *South-Seas*, the *Wager*, Captain *Cheap*, was the only one that was miſſing. This ſhip had on board ſome field-pieces mounted for land ſervice, together with ſome coehorn mortars, and ſeveral kinds of artillery, ſtores and tools, intended for the operations on ſhore: And therefore, as the enterprize on *Baldivia* had been reſolved on for the firſt undertaking of the ſquadron, Captain *Cheap* was extremely ſolicitous that theſe materials, which were in his cuſtody, might be ready before *Baldivia*; that if the ſquadron ſhould poſſibly rendezvous there, (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to) no delay nor diſappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilſt the *Wager*, with theſe views, was making the beſt of her way to her firſt rendezvous off the Iſland of *Socoro*, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the ſquadron there) ſhe propoſed to ſteer directly for *Baldivia*, ſhe made the land on the 14th of *May*, about the latitude of 47°, South; and, the Captain exerting himſelf on this occaſion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and thereby diſlocated his ſhoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ſhip, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to ſea, and entanlged her more and more with the land, ſo that the next morning, at day-break, ſhe ſtruck on a ſunken rock, and ſoon after

after bilged, and grounded between two ſmall Iſlands, at about a muſquet-ſhot from the ſhore.

In this ſituation the ſhip continued entire a long time, ſo that all the crew had it in their power to get ſafe on ſhore; but a general confuſion taking place, numbers of them, inſtead of conſulting their ſafety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ſhip, arming themſelves with the firſt weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who ſhould oppoſe them. This frenzy was greatly heightned by the liquors they found on board, with which they got ſo extremely drunk, that ſome of them tumbling down between decks, were drowned, as the water flowed in, being incapable of getting up and retreating to other places where the water had not yet entered: And the Captain, having done his utmoſt to get the whole crew on ſhore, was at laſt obliged to leave theſe mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and ſuch as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to ſend back the boats, to perſuade thoſe who remained, to have ſome regard for their preſervation; though all his efforts were for ſome time without ſucceſs. However, the weather next day proving ſtormy, and there being great danger of the ſhip's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of periſhing, and were deſirous of getting to land; but it ſeems their madneſs had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off ſo ſoon as they expected, they at laſt pointed a four pounder, which was on the

the quarter-deck, againſt the hut, where they knew the Captain reſided on ſhore, and fired two ſhot, which paſſed but juſt over it.

From this ſpecimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame ſome conjecture of the diſorder and anarchy which took place, when they at laſt got all on ſhore. For the men conceived, that by the loſs of the ſhip, the authority of the officers was at an end; and, they being now on a deſolate coaſt, where ſcarcely any other proviſions could be got, except what ſhould be ſaved out of the wreck, this was another inſurmountable ſource of diſcord: For as the working upon the wreck, and the ſecuring the proviſions, ſo that they might be preſerved for future exigencies as much as poſſible, and the taking care that what was neceſſary for immediate ſubſiſtance might be ſparingly and equally diſtributed, were matters not to be brought about but by diſcipline and ſubordination; the mutinous diſpoſition of the people, ſtimulated by the impulſes of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpoſe ineffectual: So that there were continual concealments, frauds and thefts, which animated each man againſt his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and conteſts. And hence there was conſtantly kept on foot a perverſe and malevolent turn of temper, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

But beſides theſe heart-burnings occaſioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which ſet the greateſt part of the

the people at variance with the Captain. This was their differing with him in opinion, on the measures to be purſued in the preſent exigency: For the Captain was determined, if poſſible, to fit up the boats in the beſt manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. For having with him above an hundred men in health, and having gotten ſome fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could maſter any *Spaniſh* veſſel they ſhould meet with in thoſe ſeas: And he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of *Chiloe* or *Baldivia*, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at *Juan Fernandes*; and he farther inſiſted, that ſhould they meet with no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would eaſily carry them there. But this was a ſcheme that, however prudent, was no ways reliſhed by the generality of his people; for, being quite jaded with the diſtreſſes and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of proſecuting an enterprize farther, which had hitherto proved ſo diſaſtrous: And therefore the common reſolution was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the reſt of the boats to ſteer to the ſouthward, to paſs through the Streights of *Magellan*, and to range along the Eaſt ſide of *South America*, till they ſhould arrive at *Brazil*, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a paſſage to *Great-Britain*. This project was at firſt ſight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was propoſed by the Captain; but as it had the

air

air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, this circumſtance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniencies, and made them adhere to it with inſurmountable obſtinacy; ſo that the Captain himſelf, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquieſce in this reſolution, whilſt he endeavoured under-hand to give it all the obſtruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived ſhould be of ſuch a ſize, that though it might ſerve to carry them to *Juan Fernandes*, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of ſo long a navigation, as that to the coaſt of *Brazil*.

But the Captain, by his ſteady oppoſition at firſt to this favourable project, had much embittered the people againſt him; to which likewiſe the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a Midſhipman whoſe name was *Cozens*, who had appeared the foremoſt in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himſelf in brawls with moſt of the officers who had adhered to the Captain's authority, and had even treated the Captain himſelf with great abuſe and inſolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the leaſt doubted, but there were ſome violent meaſures in agitation, in which *Cozens* was engaged as the ring-leader: For which reaſon the Captain, and thoſe about him, conſtantly kept themſelves on their guard. But at laſt the

Purſer, having, by the Captain's order, ſtopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work; *Cozens*, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great eagerneſs; and groſsly inſulting the Purſer, who was then delivering out proviſions juſt by the Captain's tent, and was himſelf ſufficiently violent, the Purſer, enraged by his ſcurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out *a mutiny*, adding, *that the dog had piſtols*, and then himſelf fired a piſtol at *Cozens*, which however miſt him: But the Captain, on this outcry and the report of the piſtol, ruſhed out of his tent; and, not doubting but it had been fired by *Cozens* as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately ſhot him in the head without farther deliberation, and though he did not kill him on the ſpot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

This incident, however diſpleaſing to the people, did yet, for a conſiderable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more ſubmiſſive to the Captain's authority; but at laſt, when towards the middle of *October* the long-boat was nearly compleated, and they were preparing to put to ſea, the additional provocation he gave them by covertly traverſing their project of proceeding through the Streights of *Magellan*, and their fears that he might at length engage a party ſufficient to overturn this favourite meaſure, made them reſolve to make uſe of the death of *Cozens* as a reaſon for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a priſo-

ner to *England*, to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to *England*, if their Commander ſhould be preſent to confront them: And therefore, when they were juſt ready to put to ſea, they ſet him at liberty, leaving him and the few who choſe to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ſhip was wreckt, there remained alive on board the *Wager* near an hundred and thirty perſons; of theſe above thirty died during their ſtay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat, and the Cutter to the ſouthward: So that there remained with the Captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen perſons, which however was as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of *October*, five months after the ſhipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a ſchooner, weighed, and ſtood to the ſouthward, giving the Captain, who, with Lieutenant *Hamilton* of the land-forces and the ſurgeon, was then on the beach, three cheers at their departure. It was the 29th of *January* following before they arrived at *Rio Grande*, on the coaſt of *Brazil*: And having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on ſhore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having periſhed by

hunger

hunger during the courſe of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them left, when they arrived in that Port. Indeed, the undertaking of itſelf was a moſt extraordinary one; for, not to mention the length of the run, the veſſel was ſcarcely able to contain the number that firſt put to ſea in her; and their ſtock of proviſions (being only what they had ſaved out of the ſhip) was extremely ſlender, and the Cutter, the only boat they had with them, ſoon broke away from the ſtern, and was ſtaved to pieces; ſo that when their proviſion and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on ſhore to ſearch for a freſh ſupply.

When the long-boat and Cutter were gone, the Captain, and thoſe who were left with him, propoſed to paſs to the northward in the barge and yawl: But the weather was ſo bad, and the difficulty of ſubſiſting ſo great, that it was two months after the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to ſea. It ſeems, the place, where the *Wager* was caſt away, was not a part of the Continent, as was firſt imagined, but an Iſland at ſome diſtance from the Main, which afforded no other ſorts of proviſion but ſhell-fiſh, and a few herbs; and as the greateſt part of what they had gotten from the ſhip was carried off in the long-boat, the Captain and his people were often in great neceſſity, eſpecially as they choſe to preſerve, what little ſea-proviſions remained, for their ſtore when they ſhould go to the northward. During their reſidence at this Iſland, which was by the ſeamen denominated

Wager's Iſland, they had now and then a ſtraggling canoe or two of *Indians*, which came and bartered their fiſh and other proviſions with our people. This was indeed ſome little ſuccour, and at another ſeaſon might perhaps have been greater; for as there were ſeveral *Indian* huts on the ſhore, it was ſuppoſed that in ſome years, during the height of ſummer, many of theſe ſavages might reſort thither to fiſh: And from what has been related in the account of the *Anna Pink*, it ſhould ſeem to be the general practice of thoſe *Indians* to frequent this coaſt in the ſummer-time for the benefit of fiſhing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate, more to the northward.

And on this mention of the *Anna Pink*, I cannot but obſerve, how much it is to be lamented, that the *Wager*'s people had no knowledge of her being ſo near them on the coaſt; for as ſhe was not above thirty leagues diſtant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the ſame time the *Wager* was loſt, and was a fine roomy ſhip, ſhe could eaſily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to *Juan Fernandes*. Indeed, I ſuſpect ſhe was ſtill nearer to them than what is here eſtimated; for ſeveral of the *Wager*'s people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which I conceive could be no other than the evening gun fired from the *Anna Pink*, eſpecially as what was heard at *Wager's Iſland* was about the ſame time of the day. But to return to Captain *Cheap*.

Upon

Upon the 14th of *December*, the Captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high, that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions over-board, to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food is so difficult to be got: However, they still persisted in their design, putting on shore as often as they could to seek subsistance. But about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befel them, for the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. But they still kept on their course to the northward, struggling with their disasters, and greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned: Till at last, about the end of *January*, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a head-land, which they supposed to be what the *Spaniards* called Cape *Tres Montes*, it was unanimously resolved to give over this expedition, the difficulties of which appeared insuperable, and to return again to *Wager Island*, where they got back about the middle of *February*, quite disheartned and dejected with their

reiterated diſappointments, and almoſt periſhing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return they had the good luck to meet with ſeveral pieces of beef, which had been waſhed out of the ſhip, and were ſwimming in the ſea. This was a moſt ſeaſonable relief to them, after the hardſhips they had endured: And to compleat their good fortune, there came, in a ſhort time, two canoes of *Indians*, amongſt which was a native of *Chiloe*, who ſpoke a little *Spaniſh*; and the Surgeon, who was with Captain *Cheap*, underſtanding that language, he made a bargain with the *Indian*, that if he would carry the Captain and his people to *Chiloe* in the barge, he ſhould have her, and all that belonged to her for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of *March*, the eleven perſons to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but after having proceeded for a few days, the Captain and four of his principal Officers being on ſhore, the ſix, who together with an *Indian* remained in the barge, put off with her to ſea, and did not return.

By this means there were left on ſhore Captain *Cheap*, Mr. *Hamilton* Lieutenant of Marines, the Honourable Mr. *Byron*, and Mr. *Campbel*, Midſhipmen, and Mr. *Elliot*, the Surgeon. One would have thought their diſtreſſes had long before this time been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflection, that their preſent ſituation was much more diſmaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a de-

a deſolate coaſt, without any proviſion, or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every conveniency they were maſters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had ſufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumſtances of this unexpected calamity, and were perſuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a diſtance, which proved to be that of the *Indian*, who had undertaken to carry them to *Chiloe*, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them; for it ſeems he had left Captain *Cheap* and his People a little before to go a fiſhing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other *Indian*, whom the ſailors had carried to ſea in the barge. But when he came on ſhore, and found the barge gone and his companion miſſing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be perſuaded that the other *Indian* was not murdered; but, being at laſt ſatisfied with the account that was given him, he ſtill undertook to carry them to the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, and (as the *Indians* are well ſkilled in fiſhing and fowling) to procure them proviſions by the way.

About the middle of *March*, Captain *Cheap* and the four who were left with him, ſet out for *Chiloe*, the *Indian* having procured a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpoſe. Soon after they embarked, Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon died, ſo

that there now remained only four of the whole company. At laſt, after a very complicated paſſage by land and water, Captain *Cheap*, Mr. *Byron*, and Mr. *Campbel*, arrived in the beginning of *June* at the Iſland of *Chiloe*, where they were received by the *Spaniards* with great humanity; but, on account of ſome quarrel among the *Indians*, Mr. *Hamilton* did not get thither till two months after. Thus, above a twelvemonth after the loſs of the *Wager*, ended this fatiguing peregrination, which by a variety of misfortunes had diminiſhed the company from twenty to no more than four, and thoſe too brought ſo low, had their diſtreſſes continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have ſurvived. For the Captain himſelf was with difficulty recovered; and the reſt were ſo reduced by the ſeverity of the weather, their labour, and their want of all kinds of neceſſaries, that it was wonderful how they ſupported themſelves ſo long. After ſome ſtay at *Chiloe*, the Captain and the three who were with him were ſent to *Valparaiſo*, and thence to St. *Jago*, the Capitol of *Chili*, where they continued above a year: But on the advice of a cartel being ſettled betwixt *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, Captain *Cheap*, Mr. *Byron*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, were permitted to return to *Europe* on board a *French* ſhip. The other Midſhipman, Mr. *Campbel*, having changed his religion, whilſt at St. *Jago*, choſe to go back to *Buenos Ayres* with *Pizarro* and his Officers, with whom he went afterwards to *Spain* on board the *Aſia*; and

there having failed in his endeavours to procure a commiſſion from the Court of *Spain*, he returned to *England*, and attempted to get reinſtated in the *Britiſh* Navy; and has ſince publiſhed a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injuſtice that had been done him, and ſtrongly diſavows his ever being in the *Spaniſh* ſervice: But as the change of his religion, and his offering himſelf to the Court of *Spain*, (though not accepted) are matters which, he is conſcious, are capable of being inconteſtably proved; on theſe two heads, he has been entirely ſilent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the *Anna Pink*, and the cataſtrophe of the *Wager*, I ſhall again reſume the thread of our own ſtory.

CHAP. IV.

Concluſion of our proceedings at *Juan Fernandes*, from the arrival of the *Anna Pink*, to our final departure from thence.

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our Victualler, the *Tryal* Sloop, that had been ſent to the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero*, returned to an anchor at *Juan Fernandes*, after having been round that Iſland, without meeting any part of our ſquadron. As, upon this occaſion, the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero* was more particularly examined, than I dare ſay it had ever been before, or

or perhaps ever will be again; and as the knowledge of it may, in certain circumſtances, be of great conſequence hereafter, I think it incumbent on me to inſert the accounts given of this place, by the officers of the *Tryal* Sloop.

The *Spaniards* have generally mentioned two Iſlands, under the name of *Juan Fernandes*, ſtiling them the greater and the leſs: The greater being that Iſland where we anchored, and the leſs being the Iſland we are now deſcribing, which, becauſe it is more diſtant from the Continent, they have diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Maſa-Fuero*. The *Tryal* Sloop found that it bore from the greater *Juan Fernandes* W. by S, and was about twenty-two leagues diſtant. It is much larger than has been generally reported; for former writers have repreſented it as a barren rock, deſtitute of wood and water, and altogether inacceſſible; whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were ſeveral fine falls of water pouring down its ſides into the ſea: They found too, that there was a place where a ſhip might come to an anchor on the North ſide of it, though indeed the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is ſteep to, and has very deep water upon it, ſo that you muſt come to an anchor very near the ſhore, and there lie expoſed to all the winds but a ſoutherly one: And beſides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is alſo a reef of rocks running off the eaſtern point of the Iſland, about two miles in length: but there is little danger to be feared from them, becauſe they are always

always to be ſeen by the ſeas breaking over them. This place has at preſent one advantage beyond the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*; for it abounds with goats, who, not being accuſtomed to be diſturbed, were no ways ſhy or apprehenſive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at. Theſe animals reſide here in great tranquillity, the *Spaniards* having not thought the Iſland conſiderable enough to be frequented by their enemies, and therefore they have not been ſolicitous in deſtroying the proviſions upon it; ſo that no dogs have been hitherto ſet on ſhore there. And beſides the goats, our people found there vaſt numbers of ſeals and ſea-lions: And upon the whole, they ſeemed to imagine, that though it was not the moſt eligible place for a ſhip to refreſh at, yet in caſe of neceſſity it might afford ſome ſort of ſhelter, and prove of conſiderable uſe, eſpecially to a ſingle ſhip, who might apprehend meeting with a ſuperior force at *Fernandes*. The appearance of its N. E. ſide, and alſo of its Weſt ſide, may be ſeen in the 21ſt and 22d plates. This may ſuffice in relation to the Iſland of *Maſa-Fuero*.

The latter part of the month of *Auguſt* was ſpent in unloading the proviſions from the *Anna Pink*; and here we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our proviſions, as bread, rice, groats, *&c.* were decayed, and unfit for uſe. This was owing to the water the *Pink* had made by her working and ſtraining in bad weather; for hereby ſeveral of her caſks had rotted, and her bags were ſoaked through. And now, as

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we had no farther occaſion for her ſervice, the Commodore, purſuant to his orders from the board of Admiralty, ſent notice to Mr. *Gerard* her Maſter, that he diſcharged the *Anna Pink* from the ſervice of attending the ſquadron; and gave him, at the ſame time, a certificate, ſpecifying how long ſhe had been employed. In conſequence of this diſmiſſion, her Maſter was at liberty, either to return directly to *England*, or to make the beſt of his way to any Port, where he thought he could take in ſuch a cargoe, as would anſwer the intereſt of his Owners. But the Maſter, being ſenſible of the bad condition of the ſhip and of her unfitneſs for any ſuch voyage, wrote the next day an anſwer to the Commodore's meſſage acquainting Mr. *Anſon*, that from the great quantity of water the *Pink* made in her paſſage round Cape *Horn*, and [illegible], in the tempeſtuous weather he had met with on the coaſt of *Chili*, he had reaſon to apprehend that her bottom was very much decayed; and that beſides, her upper works were rotten abaft; that ſhe was extremely leaky; that her fore-beam was broke; and that, in his opinion, it was impoſſible to proceed to ſea with her, before ſhe had been thoroughly refitted: He therefore requeſted the Commodore, that the Carpenters of the ſquadron might be directed to ſurvey her, that their judgment of her condition might be known. In compliance with this deſire, Mr. *Anſon* immediately ordered the Carpenters to take a careful and ſtrict ſurvey of the *Anna Pink*, and to give him a faithful report under their

their hands of the condition in which they found her, directing them at the ſame time to proceed herein with ſuch circumſpection, that, if they ſhould be hereafter called upon, they might be able to make oath of the veracity of their proceedings. Purſuant to theſe orders, the Carpenters immediately ſet about the examination, and the next day made their report; which was, that the *Pink* had no leſs than fourteen knees and twelve beams broken and decayed; that one breaſt-hook was broken, and another rotten; that her water-ways were open and decayed; that two ſtandards were broken, as alſo ſeveral clamps, beſides others which were rotten; that all her iron-work was greatly decayed; that her ſpirkiting and timbers were very rotten; and that, having ripped off part of her ſheathing, they found her wales and outſide planks extremely defective, and her bows and decks very leaky; and in conſequence of theſe defects and decays they certified, that in their opinion ſhe could not depart from the Iſland without great hazard, unleſs ſhe was firſt of all thoroughly refitted.

The thorough refitting of the *Anna Pink*, propoſed by the Carpenters, was, in our preſent ſituation, impoſſible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the ſquadron was inſufficient for that purpoſe. And now the Maſter finding his own ſentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the Carpenters, he offered a petition to the Commodore in behalf of his Owners, deſiring that, ſince it appeared he was incapable of leaving the Iſland, Mr. *Anſon* would pleaſe to purchaſe

chaſe the hull and furniture of the *Pink* for the uſe of the ſquadron. Hereupon the Commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the *Pink*, with its juſt value: And as by this inventory it appeared, that there were many ſtores which would be uſeful in refitting the other ſhips, and which were at preſent very ſcarce in the ſquadron, by reaſon of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr. *Gerard* to purchaſe the whole together for 300*l.* The *Pink* being thus broken up, Mr. *Gerard*, with the hands belonging to the *Pink*, were ſent on board the *Glouceſter*; as that ſhip had buried the greateſt number of men in proportion to her complement. But afterwards, one or two of them were received on board the *Centurion* on their own petition, they being extremely averſe to ſailing in the ſame ſhip with their old Maſter, on account of ſome particular ill uſage they conceived they had ſuffered from him.

This tranſaction brought us down to the beginning of *September*, and our people by this time were ſo far recovered of the ſcurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at preſent; and therefore I ſhall now ſum up the total of our loſs ſince our departure from *England*, the better to convey ſome idea of our paſt ſufferings, and of our preſent ſtrength. We had buried on board the *Centurion*, ſince our leaving St. *Helens*, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtleſs appear a moſt extraordinary

traordinary mortality: But yet on board the *Glouceſter* it had been much greater; for out of a much ſmaller crew than ours they had buried the ſame number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected that on board the *Tryal*, the ſlaughter would have been the moſt terrible, as her decks were almoſt conſtantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwiſe, for ſhe eſcaped more favourably than the reſt, ſince ſhe only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havock of this diſeaſe had fallen ſtill ſeverer on the invalids and marines than on the ſailors; for on board the *Centurion*, out of fifty invalids and ſeventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines; and on board the *Glouceſter* every invalid periſhed; and out of forty-eight marines, only two eſcaped. From this account it appears, that the three ſhips together departed from *England* with nine hundred and ſixty one men on board, of whom ſix hundred and twenty-ſix were dead before this time; ſo that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be diſtributed amongſt three ſhips, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys; a number, greatly inſufficient for the manning the *Centurion* alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmoſt exertion of their ſtrength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was ſtill the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of *Pizarro*'s ſquadron, and had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that ſome part

of

of it at leaſt had got round into theſe ſeas: Indeed, we were ſatisfied from our own experience, that they muſt have ſuffered greatly in their paſſage; but then every port in the *South-Seas* was open to them, and the whole power of *Chili* and *Peru* would doubtleſs be united in refreſhing and refitting them, and recruiting the numbers they had loſt. Beſides, we had ſome obſcure knowledge of a force to be fitted out from *Callao*; and, however contemptible the ſhips and ſailors of this part of the world may have been generally eſteemed, it was ſcarcely poſſible for any thing, bearing the name of a ſhip of force, to be feebler or leſs conſiderable than ourſelves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended from the naval power of the *Spaniards* in this part of the world, yet our enfeebled condition would nevertheleſs give us the greateſt uneaſineſs, as we were incapable of attempting any of their conſiderable places; for the riſquing of twenty men, weak as we then were, was riſquing the ſafety of the whole: So that we conceived we ſhould be neceſſitated to content ourſelves with what few prizes we could pick up at ſea, before we were diſcovered; after which, we ſhould in all probability be obliged to depart with precipitation, and eſteem ourſelves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconſiderable miſchief they had received from a ſquadron, whoſe equipment had filled them with ſuch dreadful apprehenſions. This was a ſubject, on which we had reaſon to imagine the *Spaniſh* oſtentation would remarkably exert

itſelf

itſelf; though the cauſes of our diſappointment and their ſecurity were neither to be ſought for in their valour nor our miſconduct.

Such were the deſponding reflections which at that time aroſe on the review and compariſon of our remaining ſtrength with our original numbers: Indeed our fears were far from being groundleſs, or diſproportioned to our feeble and almoſt deſperate ſituation. It is true, the final event proved more honourable than we had foreboded; but the intermediate calamities did likewiſe greatly ſurpaſs our moſt gloomy apprehenſions, and could they have been predicted to us at this Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, they would doubtleſs have appeared inſurmountable. But to return from this digreſſion.

In the beginning of *September*, as hath been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now, the time of navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted ourſelves in getting our ſhips in readineſs for the ſea. We converted the fore-maſt of the Victualler into a main-maſt for the *Tryal* Sloop; and ſtill flattering ourſelves with the poſſibility of the arrival of ſome other ſhips of our ſquadron, we intended to leave the main-maſt of the Victualler, to make a mizen-maſt for the *Wager*. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, eſpied a ſail to the N. E, which continued to approach us, till her courſe appeared even with the horizon. In this interval we all had hopes ſhe might prove one of our own ſqua-

dron; but at length finding ſhe ſteered away to the eaſtward, without haling in for the Iſland, we concluded ſhe muſt be a *Spaniard*. And now great diſputes were ſet on foot about the poſſibility of her having diſcovered our tents on ſhore, ſome of us ſtrongly inſiſting, that ſhe had doubtleſs been near enough to have perceived ſomething that had given her a jealouſy of an enemy, which had occaſioned her ſtanding to the eaſtward without haling in; but leaving theſe conteſts to be ſettled afterwards, it was reſolved to purſue her, and, the *Centurion* being in the greateſt forwardneſs, we immediately got all our hands on board, ſet up our rigging, bent our ſails, and by five in the afternoon got under ſail. We had at this time very little wind, ſo that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was laſted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flatted to a calm. The night coming on we loſt ſight of the chace, and were extremely impatient for the return of day-light, in hopes to find that ſhe had been becalmed as well as we; though I muſt confeſs, that her greater diſtance from the land was a reaſonable ground for ſuſpecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no ſight of the ſhip from the maſt-head. But as we were now ſatisfied that it was an enemy, and the firſt we had ſeen in theſe ſeas, we reſolved not to give over the ſearch lightly; and, a ſmall breeze ſpringing up from the W: N. W, we got up our

top-

top-gallant masts and yards, set all the sails, and steered at the S. E; in hopes of retrieving our chace, which we imagined to be bound to *Valparaiso*. We continued on this course all that day and the next, and then not getting sight of our chace we gave over the pursuit; conceiving that by that time she must, in all probability, have reached her Port. And now we prepared to return to *Juan Fernandes*, and haled up to the S. W, with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there sprung up a fresh gale from the W. S. W, and we tacked and stood to the N. W: And at day-break we were agreeably surprized with the sight of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant. On this we crouded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chace to. She at first bore down upon us showing *Spanish* colours, and making a signal, as to her consort; but observing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly loofed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great alacrity; and as the chace appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man of war, and probably one of *Pizarro*'s squadron: This induced the Commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown over-board, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns; so that we had soon a clear ship, ready for an engage-

ment. About nine o'clock we had thick hazy weather and a ſhower of rain, during which we loſt ſight of the chace; and we were apprehenſive, if the weather ſhould continue, that by going upon the other tack, or by ſome other artifice, ſhe might eſcape us; but it clearing up in leſs than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her conſiderably, and now we were near enough to diſcover that ſhe was only a Merchantman, without ſo much as a ſingle tire of guns. About half an hour after twelve, being then within a reaſonable diſtance of her we fired four ſhot amongſt her rigging; on which, they lowered their top-ſails, and bore down to us, but, in very great confuſion, their top-gallant ſails and ſtay-ſails all fluttering in the wind: This was owing to their having let run their ſheets and halyards juſt as we fired at them; after which, not a man amongſt them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the ſhot had paſſed but juſt before) to take them in. As ſoon as the veſſel came within hail of us, the Commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoiſted out the boat, and ſent Mr. *Saumarez*, his firſt Lieutenant, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, with directions to ſend all the priſoners on board the *Centurion*, but firſt the officers and paſſengers. When Mr. *Saumarez* came on board them, they received him at the ſide with the ſtrongeſt tokens of the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; for they were all of them (eſpecially the paſſengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greateſt apprehenſions

prehenſions of meeting with very ſevere and cruel uſage; but the Lieutenant endeavoured, with great courteſy, to diſſipate their fright, aſſuring them, that their fears were altogether groundleſs, and that they would find a generous enemy in the Commodore, who was not leſs remarkable for his lenity and humanity, than for his reſolution and courage. The priſoners, who were firſt ſent on board the *Centurion*, informed us, that our prize was called *Nueſtra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, and was commanded by Don *Manuel Zamorra*. Her cargoe conſiſted chiefly of ſugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of *Quito*, ſomewhat reſembling the *Engliſh* coarſe broad-cloths, but inferiour to them. They had beſides ſeveral bales of a coarſer ſort cloth, of different colours, ſomewhat like *Colcheſter* bays, called by them *Pannia da Tierra*, with a few bales of cotton and tobacco; which, though ſtrong, was not ill flavoured. Theſe were the principal goods on board her; but we found beſides, what was to us much more valuable than the reſt of the cargoe: This was ſome trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 *l.* averdupois. The ſhip's burthen was about four hundred and fifty guns; ſhe had fifty-three ſailors on board, both whites and blacks; ſhe came from *Callao*, and had been twenty-ſeven days at ſea, before ſhe fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of *Valparaiſo* in the kingdom of *Chili*, and propoſed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and *Chili* wine, ſome

gold, dried beef, and ſmall cordage, which at *Callao* they convert into larger rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they eſteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewiſe her ſails, which were made of Cotton. She had only three four pounders, which were altogether unſerviceable, their carriages being ſcarcely able to ſupport them: And there were no ſmall arms on board, except a few piſtols belonging to the paſſengers. The priſoners informed us, that they left *Callao* in company with two other ſhips, whom they had parted with ſome days before, and that at firſt they conceived us to be one of their company; and by the deſcription we gave them of the ſhip we had chaſed from *Juan Fernandes*, they aſſured us, ſhe was of their number, but that the coming in ſight of that Iſland was directly repugnant to the Merchant's inſtructions, who had expreſsly forbid it, as knowing that if any *Engliſh* ſquadron was in thoſe ſeas, the Iſland of *Fernandes* was moſt probably the place of their rendezvous.

And now, after this ſhort account of the ſhip and her cargoe, it is neceſſary that I ſhould relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the priſoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here firſt learnt with certainty the force and deſtination of that ſquadron, which cruiſed off the *Maderas* at

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our arrival there, and afterwards chaſed the *Pearl* in our paſſage to port St. *Julian*. This we now knew was a ſquadron compoſed of five large *Spaniſh* ſhips, commanded by Admiral *Pizarro*, and purpoſely fitted out to traverſe our deſigns, as hath been already more amply related in the 3d chapter of the 1ſt book. And we had, at the ſame time, the ſatisfaction to find, that *Pizarro*, after his utmoſt endeavours to gain his paſſage into theſe ſeas, had been forced back again into the river of *Plate*, with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips: And beſides this diſappointment of *Pizarro*, which, conſidering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we farther learnt, that an embargo had been laid upon all ſhipping in theſe ſeas, by the Viceroy of *Peru*, in the month of *May* preceding, on a ſuppoſition that about that time we might arrive upon the coaſt. But on the account ſent over-land by *Pizarro* of his own diſtreſſes, part of which they knew we muſt have encountered, as we were at ſea during the ſame time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to ſet ſail from St. *Catherine's*, they were fully perſuaded that we were either ſhip-wreck'd, or had periſhed at ſea, or at leaſt had been obliged to put back again; for it was conceived impoſſible for any ſhips to continue at ſea during ſo long an interval: And therefore, on the application of the Merchants, and the firm perſuaſion of our having miſcarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This laſt article made us flatter ourſelves, that, as the enemy was ſtill a ſtranger to our having got round Cape *Horn*, and the navigation of theſe ſeas was reſtored, we might meet with ſome conſiderable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourſelves for the incapacity we were now under of attempting any of their conſiderable ſettlements on ſhore. And thus much we were certain of, from the information of our priſoners, that, whatever our ſucceſs might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the *Spaniſh* force in this part of the world; tho' we diſcovered that we had been in moſt imminent peril from the enemy, when we leaſt apprehended it, and when our other diſtreſſes were at the greateſt height; for we learnt, from the letters on board, that *Pizarro*, in the expreſs he diſpatched to the Viceroy of *Peru*, after his return to the river of *Plate*, had intimated to him, that it was poſſible ſome part at leaſt of the *Engliſh* ſquadron might get round; but that, as he was certain from his own experience, that if they did arrive in thoſe ſeas, it muſt be in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, he adviſed the Viceroy, in order to be ſecure at all events, to fit out what ſhips of force he had, and ſend them to the ſouthward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us ſingly, and before we had an opportunity of touching any where for refreſhment; in which caſe, he doubted not but we ſhould prove an eaſy conqueſt. The Viceroy of *Peru* approved of this advice,

and immediately fitted out four ſhips of force from *Callao*; one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns: Three of them were ſtationed off the Port of *Conception*, and one of them at the Iſland of *Fernandes*; and in theſe ſtations they continued cruiſing for us till the 6th of *June*, when, not ſeeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impoſſible that we could have kept the ſeas ſo long, they quitted their cruiſe and returned to *Callao*, fully ſatisfied that we had either periſhed, or at leaſt had been driven back. As the time of their quitting their ſtation was but a few days before our arrival at the Iſland of *Fernandes*, it is evident, that had we made that Iſland on our firſt ſearch for it, without haling in for the main to ſecure our eaſting, (a circumſtance, which at that time we conſidered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we loſt by our longer continuance at ſea) had we, I ſay, made the Iſland on the 28th of *May*, when we firſt expected to ſee it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtleſs fallen in with ſome part of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron; and in the diſtreſſed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy well provided enemy, was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us, but to the *Tryal*, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Anna Pink*, who ſeparately joined us, and who were each of them leſs capable than we were of making any conſiderable reſiſtance. I ſhall only add, that theſe *Spaniſh* ſhips ſent out

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to intercept us, had been greatly ſhattered by a ſtorm during their cruiſe; and that, after their arrival at *Callao*, they had been laid up. And our priſoners aſſured us, that whenever intelligence was received at *Lima*, of our being in theſe ſeas, it would be at leaſt two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable, as we in our reduced circumſtances could wiſh for. And now we were fully ſatisfied as to the broken jars, aſhes, and fiſh-bones, which we had obſerved at our firſt landing at *Juan Fernandes*, theſe things being doubtleſs the relicts of the cruiſers ſtationed off that Port. Having thus ſatisfied ourſelves in the material articles, and having gotten on board the *Centurion* moſt of the priſoners, and all the ſilver, we, at eight in the ſame evening, made ſail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at ſix the next morning diſcovered the Iſland of *Fernandes*, where, the next day, both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident which occurred, when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the reſt of the ſquadron lay. The *Spaniards* in the *Carmelo* had been ſufficiently informed of the diſtreſſes we had gone through, and were greatly ſurprized that we had ever ſurmounted them: But when they ſaw the *Tryal* Sloop at anchor, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, that after all our fatigues, we had the induſtry (beſides refitting our other ſhips) to compleat ſuch a veſſel in ſo ſhort a time,

time, they, taking it for granted that ſhe had been built upon the ſpot. And it was with great difficulty they were prevailed on to believe, that ſhe came from *England* with the reſt of the ſquadron; they at firſt inſiſted, that it was impoſſible ſuch a bawble as that could paſs round Cape *Horn*, when the beſt ſhips of *Spain* were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at *Juan Fernandes*, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined: And, it appearing from them, and from the accounts of our priſoners, that ſeveral other Merchantmen were bound from *Callao* to *Valparaiſo*, Mr. *Anſon* diſpatched the *Tryal* Sloop the very next morning to cruiſe off the laſt-mentioned Port, reinforcing him with ten hands from on board his own ſhip. Mr. *Anſon* likewiſe reſolved, on the intelligence recited above, to ſeparate the ſhips under his command, and employ them in diſtinct cruiſes, as he thought that by this means we ſhould not only encreaſe our chance for prizes, but that we ſhould likewiſe run a leſs riſque of alarming the coaſt, and of being diſcovered. And now the ſpirits of our people being greatly raiſed, and their deſpondency diſſipated by this earneſt of ſucceſs, they forgot all their paſt diſtreſſes, and reſumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in compleating our water, receiving our lumber, and in preparing to take our farewel of the Iſland: But as theſe occupations took us up four or five days with all our induſtry, the Commodore, in that interval, directed that

the guns belonging to the *Anna Pink*, being four ſix pounders, four four-pounders, and two ſwivels, ſhould be mounted on board the *Carmelo*, our prize: And having ſent on board the *Glouceſter* ſix paſſengers, and twenty-three ſeamen to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhip, he directed Captain *Mitchel* to leave the Iſland as ſoon as poſſible, the ſervice requiring the utmoſt diſpatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees South, and there to cruiſe off the highland of *Paita*, at ſuch a diſtance from ſhore, as ſhould prevent his being diſcovered. On this ſtation he was to continue till he ſhould be joined by the Commodore, which would be whenever it ſhould be known that the Viceroy had fitted out the ſhips at *Callao*, or on Mr. *Anſon*'s receiving any other intelligence, that ſhould make it neceſſary to unite our ſtrength. Theſe orders being delivered to the Captain of the *Glouceſter*, and all our buſineſs compleated, we on the *Saturday* following, being the 19th of *September*, weighed our anchor, in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our laſt leave of the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, and ſteering to the eaſtward, with an intention of joining the *Tryal* Sloop in her ſtation off *Valparaiſo*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Our cruiſe from the time of our leaving *Juan Fernandes*, to the taking the town of *Paita*.

ALTHOUGH the *Centurion*, with her prize, the *Carmelo*, weighed from the bay of *Juan Fernandes* on the 19th of *September*, leaving the *Glouceſter* at anchor behind her; yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22d of the ſame month in the evening, before we loſt ſight of the Iſland: After which, we continued our courſe to the eaſtward, in order to reach our ſtation, and to join the *Tryal* off *Valparaiſo*. The next night, the weather proved ſqually, and we ſplit our maintop-ſail, which we handed for the preſent, but got it repaired, and ſet it again the next morning. And now, on the 24th, a little before ſun-ſet, we ſaw two ſail to the eaſtward; on which, our prize ſtood directly from us, to avoid giving any ſuſpicion of our being cruiſers; whilſt we, in the mean time, made ourſelves ready for an engagement, and ſteered towards the two ſhips we had diſcovered with all our canvas. We ſoon perceived that one of theſe, which had the appearance of being a very ſtout ſhip, made directly for us, whilſt the other kept at a very great diſtance. By ſeven o'clock we were within piſtol-ſhot of the neareſt, and had a broad-

a broad-side ready to pour into her, the Gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but as we knew it was now impoſſible for her to eſcape us, Mr. *Anſon*, before he permitted them to fire, ordered the Maſter to hail the ſhip in *Spaniſh*; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. *Hughs*, Lieutenant of the *Tryal*, anſwered us in *Engliſh*, and informed us, that ſhe was a prize taken by the *Tryal* a few days before, and that the other ſail at a diſtance was the *Tryal* herſelf, diſabled in her maſts. We were ſoon after joined by the *Tryal*; and Captain *Saunders*, her Commander, came on board the *Centurion*. He informed the Commodore, that he had taken this ſhip the 18th inſtant; that ſhe was a prime ſailor, and had coſt him thirty-ſix hours chace, before he could come up with her; that for ſome time he gained ſo little upon her, that he began to deſpair of taking her; and the *Spaniards*, though alarmed at firſt with ſeeing nothing but a cloud of ſail in purſuit of them, the *Tryal*'s hull being ſo low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodneſs of their ſhip, and finding how little the *Tryal* neared them, they at length laid aſide their fears, and, recommending themſelves to the bleſſed Virgin for protection, began to think themſelves ſecure. And indeed their ſucceſs was very near doing honour to their *Ave Maria's*; for, altering their courſe in the night, and ſhutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being ſeen, they

they had ſome chance of eſcaping; but a ſmall crevice in one of the ſhutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice the people on board the *Tryal* perceived a light, which they chaſed, till they arrived within gun-ſhot; and then Captain *Saunders* alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadſide, when they flattered themſelves they were got out of his reach: However, for ſome time after they ſtill kept the ſame ſail abroad, and it was not obſerved that this firſt ſalute had made any impreſſion on them; but juſt as the *Tryal* was preparing to repeat her broadſide, the *Spaniards* crept from their holes, lowered their ſails, and ſubmitted without any oppoſition. She was one of the largeſt Merchantmen employed in thoſe ſeas, being about ſix hundred tuns burthen, and was called the *Arranzazu*. She was bound from *Callao* to *Valparaiſo*, and had much the ſame cargoe with the *Carmelo* we had taken before, except that her ſilver amounted only to about 5000 *l.* ſterling.

But to balance this ſucceſs, we had the misfortune to find that the *Tryal* had ſprung her main-maſt, and that her maintop-maſt had come by the board; and as we were all of us ſtanding to the eaſtward the next morning, with a freſh gale at South, ſhe had the additional ill luck to ſpring her fore-maſt: So that now ſhe had not a maſt left, on which ſhe could carry ſail. Theſe unhappy incidents were ſtill aggravated by the impoſſibility we were juſt then under of aſſiſting her; for the wind blew ſo hard, and raiſed ſuch

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a hollow ſea, that we could not venture to hoiſt out our boat, and conſequently could have no communication with her; ſo that we were obliged to lie to for the greateſt part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herſelf in her preſent unhappy ſituation: And as an accumulation to our misfortunes, we were all the while driving to the leeward of our ſtation, at the very time when, by our intelligence, we had reaſon to expect ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips would appear upon the coaſt, who would now gain the port of *Valparaiſo* without obſtruction. And I am verily perſuaded, that the embaraſment we received from the diſmaſting of the *Tryal*, and our abſence from our intended ſtation occaſioned thereby, deprived us of ſome very conſiderable captures.

The weather proving ſomewhat more moderate on the 27th, we ſent our boat for the Captain of the *Tryal*, who, when he came on board us, produced an inſtrument, ſigned by himſelf and all his officers, repreſenting that the Sloop, beſides being diſmaſted, was ſo very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was neceſſary to keep the pumps conſtantly at work, and that they were then ſcarcely ſufficient to keep her free; ſo that in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increaſed upon them; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at preſent ſo very defective, that if they met with much bad

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weather, they must all inevitably perish; and therefore they petitioned the Commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the refitting of the *Tryal*, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that in the present conjuncture greatly exceeded his power; for we had no masts to spare her, we had no stores to compleat her rigging, nor had we any port where she might be hove down, and her bottom examined: Besides, had a port and proper requisites for this purpose been in our possession, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away so much time, as would have been necessary for these operations. The Commodore therefore had no choice left him, but that of taking out her people, and destroying her: But, at the same time, as he conceived it necessary for his Majesty's service to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the *Tryal*'s prize (which had been often employed by the Viceroy of *Peru* as a man of war) to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, manning her with the *Tryal*'s crew, and giving new commissions to the Captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the *Spanish* service, had mounted thirty-two guns; but she was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the *Tryal*, and eight that had belonged to the *Anna Pink*. When this affair was thus far regulated, Mr. *Anson* gave orders to Captain *Saunders* to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the Sloop the arms, stores, ammu-

nition, and every thing that could be of any uſe to the other ſhips, and then to ſcuttle her and ſink her. And after Captain *Saunders* had ſeen her deſtroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate (to be called the *Tryal*'s prize) and to cruiſe off the highland of *Valparaiſo*, keeping it from him N. N. W, at the diſtance of twelve or fourteen leagues: For as all ſhips bound from *Valparaiſo* to the northward ſteer that courſe; Mr. *Anſon* propoſed by this means to ſtop any intelligence, that might be diſpatched to *Callao*, of two of their ſhips being miſſing, which might give them apprehenſions of the *Engliſh* ſquadron being in their neighbourhood. The *Tryal*'s prize was to continue on this ſtation twenty-four days, and, if not joined by the Commodore at the expiration of that term, ſhe was then to proceed down the coaſt to *Piſco* or *Naſca*, where ſhe would be certain to meet with Mr. *Anſon*. The Commodore likewiſe ordered Lieutenant *Saumarez*, who commanded the *Centurion*'s prize, to keep company with Captain *Saunders*, both to aſſiſt him in unloading the Sloop, and alſo that by ſpreading in their cruiſe, there might be leſs danger of any of the enemy's ſhips ſlipping by unobſerved. Theſe orders being diſpatched, the *Centurion* parted from them at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of *September*, directing her courſe to the ſouthward, with a view of cruiſing for ſome days to the windward of *Valparaiſo*.

And now by this diſpoſition of our ſhips we flattered ourſelves, that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we poſſibly could with

with our ſmall force, ſince our diſpoſition was doubtleſs the moſt prudent that could be projected. For, as we might ſuppoſe the *Glouceſter* by this time to be drawing near her ſtation off the highland of *Paita*, we were enabled, by our ſeparate ſtations, to intercept all veſſels employed either betwixt *Peru* and *Chili* to the ſouthward, or betwixt *Panama* and *Peru* to the northward: Since the principal trade from *Peru* to *Chili* being carried on to the port of *Valparaiſo*, the *Centurion* cruiſing to the windward of *Valparaiſo*, would, in all probability, meet with them, as it is the conſtant practice of thoſe ſhips to fall in with the coaſt, to the windward of that port: And the *Glouceſter* would, in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from *Panama* or the northward, to any part of *Peru*; ſince the highland off which ſhe was ſtationed is conſtantly made by all ſhips in that voyage. And whilſt the *Centurion* and *Glouceſter* were thus ſituated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the *Tryal*'s prize and *Centurion*'s prize were as conveniently ſtationed for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ſhips bound from *Valparaiſo* to the northward; for it was on board theſe veſſels that it was to be feared ſome account of us might poſſibly be ſent to *Peru*.

But the moſt prudent diſpoſitions carry with them only a probability of ſucceſs, and can never enſure its certainty: Since thoſe chances, which it was reaſonable to overlook in deliberations, are ſometimes of moſt powerful influence in exe-

cution. Thus in the preſent caſe, the diſtreſs of the *Tryal*, and the quitting our ſtation to aſſiſt her (events which no degree of prudence could either foreſee or obviate) gave an opportunity to all the ſhips, bound to *Valparaiſo*, to reach that port without moleſtation, during this unlucky interval. So that though, after leaving Captain *Saunders*, we were very expeditious in regaining our ſtation, where we got the 29th at noon, yet in plying on and off till the 6th of *October*, we had not the good fortune to diſcover a ſail of any ſort: And then having loſt all hopes of making any advantage by a longer ſtay, we made ſail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived on the ſtation appointed for them, we did not meet with them, though we continued there four or five days. We ſuppoſed that ſome chace had occaſioned their leaving their ſtation, and therefore we proceeded down the coaſt to the highland of *Naſca*, where Captain *Saunders* was directed to join us. Here we arrived on the 21ſt, and were in great expectation of meeting with ſome of the enemy's ſhips on the coaſt, as both the accounts of former voyages, and the information of our priſoners aſſured us, that all ſhips bound to *Callao* conſtantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithſtanding the advantages of this ſtation, we ſaw no ſail till the 2d of *November*, when two ſhips appeared in ſight together; we immediately gave them chace, but ſoon perceived that they were the *Tryal*'s and *Centurion*'s prizes: As they had

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the wind of us, we brought to and waited their coming up; when Captain *Saunders* came on board us, and acquainted the Commodore, that he had cleared the *Tryal* purſuant to his orders, and having ſcuttled her, he remained by her till ſhe ſunk, but that it was the 4th of *October* before this was effected; for there ran ſo large and hollow a ſea, that the Sloop, having neither maſts nor ſails to ſteady her, rolled and pitched ſo violently, that it was impoſſible for a boat to lay along-ſide of her, for the greateſt part of the time: And during this attendance on the Sloop, they were all driven ſo far to the North-weſt, that they were afterwards obliged to ſtretch a long way to the weſtward to regain the ground they had loſt; which was the reaſon that we had not met with them on their ſtation as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruiſe than we were, for they had ſeen no veſſel ſince they ſeparated from us. The little ſucceſs we all had, and our certainty, that had any ſhips been ſtirring in theſe ſeas for ſome time paſt we muſt have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy at *Valparaiſo*, on the miſſing of the two ſhips we had taken, had ſuſpected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had conſequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the ſouthern parts. We likewiſe apprehended, that they might by this time be fitting out the men of war at *Callao*; for we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an expreſs from *Valparaiſo* to reach *Lima* in twenty-nine or thirty days,

and it was now more than fifty, ſince we had taken our firſt prize. Theſe apprehenſions of an embargo along the coaſt, and of the equipment of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron at *Callao*, determined the Commodore to haſten down to the leeward of *Callao*, and to join Captain *Mitchel* (who was ſtationed off *Paita*) as ſoon as poſſible, that our ſtrength being united, we might be prepared to give the ſhips from *Callao* a warm reception, if they dared to put to ſea. With this view we bore away the ſame afternoon, taking particular care to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, that there might be no danger of our being diſcovered from thence; for we knew that all the country ſhips were commanded, under the ſevereſt penalty, not to ſail by the port of *Callao* without ſtopping; and as this order was conſtantly complied with, we ſhould undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were ſeen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the *Spaniſh* ſquadron in our route, the Commodore took on board the *Centurion* part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the *Carmelo*. And now ſtanding to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the ſmall Iſland called St. *Gallan*, which bore from us N. N. E. ½ E, about ſeven leagues diſtant. This Iſland lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees South, and about five miles to the northward of a highland, called *Morro veijo*, or the old man's head. I mention this Iſland, and the highland near it, more particularly, becauſe between

tween them is the moſt eligible ſtation on that coaſt for cruiſing upon the enemy; as all ſhips bound to *Callao*, whether from the northward or the ſouthward, run well in with the land in this part. By the 5th of *November*, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the highland of *Barranca*, lying in the latitude of 10° : 36′ South, bearing from us N. E. by E, diſtant eight or nine leagues; and an hour and an half afterwards we had the ſatisfaction we had ſo long wiſhed for, of ſeeing a ſail. She firſt appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chace; but the *Centurion* ſo much outſailed the two prizes, that we ſoon ran them out of ſight, and gained conſiderably on the chace: However, night coming on before we came up with her, we, about ſeven o'clock, loſt ſight of her, and were in ſome perplexity what courſe to ſteer; but at laſt Mr. *Anſon* reſolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his ſails ſet, and not to change his courſe: For though we had no doubt but the chace would alter her courſe in the night; yet, as it was uncertain what tack ſhe would go upon, it was thought more prudent to keep on our courſe, as we muſt by this means unavoidably near her, than to change it on conjecture; when, if we ſhould miſtake, we muſt infallibly loſe her. Thus then we continued the chace about an hour and half in the dark, ſome one or other on board us conſtantly imagining they diſcerned her ſails right a head of us; but at laſt Mr. *Brett*, then our ſecond Lieutenant, did really diſcover her

about four points on the larboard-bow, ſteering off to the ſeaward: We immediately clapped the helm a weather, and ſtood for her; and, in leſs than an hour came up with her, and having fired fourteen ſhot at her, ſhe ſtruck. Our third Lieutenant, Mr. *Dennis*, was ſent in the boat with ſixteen men, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, and to return the priſoners to our ſhip. This ſhip was named the *Santa Tereſa de Jeſus*, built at *Guaiaquil*, of about three hundred tuns burthen, and was commanded by *Bartolome Urrunaga*, a *Biſcayer:* She was bound from *Guaiaquil* to *Callao*; her loading conſiſted of timber, cacao, coco-nuts, tobacco, hides, *Pito* thread (which is very ſtrong, and is made of a ſpecies of graſs) *Quito* cloth, wax, *&c.* The ſpecies on board her was inconſiderable, being principally ſmall ſilver money, and not amounting to more than 170 *l.* ſterling. It is true, her cargoe was of great value, could we have diſpoſed of it; but, the *Spaniards* having ſtrict orders never to ranſom their ſhips, all the goods that we took in theſe ſeas, except what little we had occaſion for ourſelves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourſelves, it was ſome ſatisfaction to us to conſider, that it was ſo much really loſt to the enemy, and that the deſpoiling them was no contemptible branch of that ſervice, in which we were now employed by our country.

Beſides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten paſſengers, conſiſting of four men and three wo-

women, who were natives of the country, born of *Spaniſh* parents, and three black female ſlaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldeſt about twenty-one, and the youngeſt about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of theſe years ſhould be exceſſively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the Buccaneers, and by the artful inſinuations of their Prieſts, they had been taught to conſider as the moſt terrible and brutal of all mankind. Theſe apprehenſions too were in the preſent inſtance exaggerated by the ſingular beauty of the youngeſt of the women, and the riotous diſpoſition which they might well expect to find in a ſet of ſailors, that had not ſeen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of theſe terrors, the women all hid themſelves when our officer went on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could perſuade them to approach the light: However, he ſoon ſatisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct and his aſſurances of their future ſecurity and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. And the Commodore being informed of the matter ſent directions that they ſhould be continued on board their own ſhip, with the uſe of the ſame apartments, and with all the other conveniencies they had enjoyed before, giving ſtrict orders that they ſhould receive no kind of inquietude or moleſtation whatever: And that they might be the more certain of having theſe orders complied with, or of com-

plaining if they were not, the Commodore permitted the Pilot, who in *Spaniſh* ſhips is generally the ſecond perſon on board, to ſtay with them, as their guardian and protector. He was particularly choſen for this purpoſe by Mr. *Anſon*, as he ſeemed to be extremely intereſted in all that concerned the women, and had at firſt declared that he was married to the youngeſt of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the reſt of the priſoners, and other circumſtances, that he had aſſerted this with a view, the better to ſecure them from the inſults they expected on their firſt falling into our hands. By this compaſſionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the conſteration of our female priſoners entirely ſubſided, and they continued eaſy and chearful during the whole time they were with us, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before obſerved, that at the beginning of this chace the *Centurion* ran her two conſorts out of ſight, for which reaſon we lay by all the night, after we had taken the prize, for Captain *Saunders* and Lieutenant *Saumarez* to join us, firing guns, and making falſe fires every half hour, to prevent their paſſing us unobſerved; but they were ſo far a-ſtern, that they neither heard nor ſaw any of our ſignals, and were not able to come up with us till broad day-light. When they had joined us we proceeded together to the northward, being now four ſail in company. We here found the ſea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour: This, upon exami-

examination, we imputed to an immenſe quantity of ſpawn ſpread upon its ſurface; and taking up ſome of the water in a wine-glaſs, it ſoon changed from a dirty aſpect to a clear chryſtal, with only ſome red globules of a ſlimy nature floating on the top. And now having a ſupply of timber on boar our new prize, the Commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a ſwivel gun-ſtock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increaſe their force, in caſe we ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to them for boarding ſhips, or for any attempts on ſhore.

As we ſtood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though we ſpread our ſhips in ſuch a manner, that it was not probable any veſſel of the enemy could eſcape us. In our run along this coaſt we generally obſerved, that there was a current which ſet us to the northward, at the rate of ten or tewlve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees of South latitude, we began to be attended with vaſt numbers of flying fiſh and bonitos, which were the firſt we ſaw after our departure from the coaſt of *Brazil*. But it is remarkable, that on the Eaſt ſide of South *America* they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the Weſt ſide; for we did not loſe them on the coaſt of *Brazil*, till we approached the ſouthern tropic. The reaſon for this diverſity is doubtleſs the different degrees of heat obtaining in the ſame latitude on different ſides of that Continent. And on this occaſion,

I muſt

I muſt beg leave to make a ſhort digreſſion on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the ſame place in different parts of the year, and in different places lying in the ſame degree of latitude.

The Ancients, as appears in many places, conceived that of five zones, into which they divided the ſurface of the globe, two only were habitable, ſuppoſing that all between the tropics was too hot, and all within the polar circle too cold to be ſupported by mankind. The falſehood of this reaſoning has been long evinced; but the particular compariſons of the heat and cold of theſe various climates, has as yet been very imperfectly conſidered. However, enough is known ſafely to determine this poſition, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hotteſt on the globe, as many of thoſe within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold, to which their ſituation ſhould ſeem to ſubject them: That is to ſay, in other words, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumſtances, than upon its diſtance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This propoſition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this ſenſe it cannot be denied, but that the City of *London*, for inſtance, enjoys much warmer ſeaſons than the bottom of *Hudſon*'s Bay, which is nearly in the ſame latitude with it; for there the ſeverity of the winter is ſo great, that it will ſcarcely permit the hardieſt of our

garden

garden plants to live. And if the comparison be made between the coast of *Brazil* and the western shore of South *America*, as, for example, betwixt *Bahia* and *Lima*, the difference will be still more remarkable; for though the coast of *Brazil* is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the *South-Seas* in the same latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; since in ranging along it, we did not once meet with so warm weather, as is frequent in a summer's day in *England*: And this was the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refresh and cool the air.

The causes of this temperature in the *South-Seas* are not difficult to be assigned, and shall be hereafter mentioned. I am now only solicitous to establish the truth of this assertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule whereby to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this position might be more briefly confirmed, by observing, that on the tops of the *Andes*, though under the eqinoctial, the snow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold, stronger than what is known to take place in many parts far removed within the polar circle.

I have hitherto considered the temperature of the air all the year through, and the gross estimations of heat and cold which every one makes from his own sensation. If this matter be examined by means of Thermometers, which in respect to the absolute degree of heat and cold are doubtless the most unerring evidences; if this

this be done, the result will be indeed most wonderful: For it will appear that the heat in very high latitudes, as at *Peterſburgh* for inſtance, is at particuliar times much greater than any that has been hitherto obſerved between the tropics; and that even at *London*, in the year 1746, there was the part of one day conſiderably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ſhip of Mr. *Anſon*'s ſquadron, in running from hence to Cape *Horn* and back again, and paſſing twice under the ſun; for in the ſummer of that year, the thermometer in *London* (being one of thoſe graduated according to the method of *Farenheit*) ſtood once at 78°; and the greateſt height at which a thermometer of the ſame kind ſtood in the foregoing ſhip, I find to be 76°: This was at St. *Catherine's*, in the latter end of *December*, when the ſun was within about three degrees of the vertex. And as to *Peterſburgh*, I find, by the acts of the academy eſtabliſhed there, that in the year 1734, on the 20th and 25th of *July*, the thermometer roſe to 98° in the ſhade, that is, it was twenty-two diviſions higher than it was found to be at St. *Catherine's*; which is a degree of heat that, were it not authoriſed by the regularity and circumſpection with which the obſervations ſeem to have been made, would appear altogether incredible.

If it ſhould be aſked, how it comes to paſs then, that the heat in many places between the tropics is eſteemed ſo violent and inſufferable, when it appears by theſe inſtances, that it is ſometimes rivalled or exceeded in very high latitudes,

titudes not far from the polar circle? I ſhould anſwer, that the eſtimation of heat in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that degree of heat which may now and then obtain there, but is rather to be deduced from the medium obſerved in a whole ſeaſon, or perhaps in a whole year: And in this light it will eaſily appear, how much more intenſe the ſame degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For inſtance, in comparing together St. *Catherine's* and *Peterſburgh*, we will ſuppoſe the ſummer heat at St. *Catherine's* to be 76°, and the winter heat to be twenty diviſions ſhort of it: I do not make uſe of this laſt conjecture upon ſufficient obſervation; but I am apt to ſuſpect, that the allowance is full large. Upon this ſuppoſition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66°, and this perhaps by night as well as day, with no great variation: Now thoſe who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would by the generality of mankind be ſtiled violent and ſuffocating. But now at *Peterſburgh*, though a few times in the year the heat, by the thermometer, may be conſiderably greater than at St. *Catherine's*, yet, as at other times the cold is immenſely ſharper, the medium for a year, or even for one ſeaſon only, would be far ſhort of 66°. For I find, that the variation of the thermometer at *Peterſburgh* is at leaſt five times greater, from its higheſt to its loweſt point, than what

what I have ſuppoſed to take place at St. *Catherine's*.

But beſides this eſtimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a conſiderable time together, there is another circumſtance which will ſtill augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminiſh that of the colder, though I do not remember to have ſeen it remarked in any author. To explain myſelf more diſtinctly upon this head, I muſt obſerve, that the meaſure of abſolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the ſenſation of heat, with which human bodies are affected: For as the preſence and perpetual ſucceſſion of freſh air is neceſſary to our reſpiration, ſo there is a ſpecies of tainted or ſtagnated air, which is often produced by the continuance of great heats, which never fails to excite in us an idea of ſultrineſs and ſuffocating warmth, much beyond what the mere heat of the air alone, ſuppoſing it pure and agitated, would occaſion. Hence it follows, that the mere inſpection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cauſe; and hence it follows too, that the heat in moſt places between the tropics muſt be much more troubleſome and uneaſy, than the ſame degree of abſolute heat in a high latitude: For the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of ſteams and vapours from the ſoil and water, and theſe being, many of them, of an impure and noxious kind, and being

ing not eaſily removed, by reaſon of the regularity of the winds in thoſe parts, which only ſhift the exhalations from place to place, without diſperſing them, the atmoſphere is by this means rendered leſs proper for reſpiration, and mankind are conſequently affected with what they ſtile a moſt intenſe and ſtifling heat: Whereas in the higher latitudes theſe vapours are probably raiſed in ſmaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently diſperſe them; ſo that, the air being in general pure and leſs ſtagnant, the ſame degree of abſolute heat is not attended with that uneaſy and ſuffocating ſenſation. This may ſuffice in general with reſpect to the preſent ſpeculation; but I cannot help wiſhing, as it is a ſubject in which mankind, eſpecially travellers of all ſorts, are very much intereſted, that it were more thoroughly and accurately examined, and that all ſhips bound to the warmer climates would furniſh themſelves with thermometers of a known fabric, and would obſerve them daily, and regiſter their obſervations; for conſidering the turn to philoſophical ſubjects, which has obtained in *Europe* for the laſt fourſcore years, it is incredible how very rarely any thing of this kind hath been attended to. For my own part, I do not recollect that I have ever ſeen any obſervations of the heat and cold, either in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, which were made by mariners or officers of veſſels, except thoſe made by Mr. *Anſon*'s order, on board the *Centurion*, and by Captain *Leg* on board the *Severn*, which was another ſhip of our ſquadron.

This digreſſion I have been in ſome meaſure drawn into, by the conſideration of the fine weather we met with on the coaſt of *Peru*, even under the equinoctial itſelf, but the particularities of this weather I have not yet deſcribed: I ſhall now therefore add, that in this climate every circumſtance concurred, that could render the open air and the day-light deſirable. For in other countries the ſcorching heat of the ſun in ſummer renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amuſement; and the frequent rains are not leſs troubleſome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the ſun rarely appears: Not that the heavens have at any time a dark and gloomy look; but there is conſtantly a chearful grey ſky, juſt ſufficient to ſcreen the ſun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obſcuring the air, or tinging the day-light with an unpleaſant or melancholy hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exerciſe abroad, nor is there wanting that refreſhment and pleaſing refrigeration of the air, which is ſometimes produced in other climates by rains; for here the ſame effect is brought about, by the freſh breezes from the cooler regions to the ſouthward. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of thoſe vaſt hills, called the *Andes*, which running nearly parallel to the ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance from it, and extending themſelves immenſely higher than any other moun-

tains

tains upon the globe, form upon their ſides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the ſummit, all kinds of climates may at all ſeaſons of the year be found. Theſe mountains, by intercepting great part of the eaſtern winds which generally blow over the Continent of South *America*, and by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping beſides a prodigious extent of the atmoſphere perpetually cool, by its contiguity to the ſnows with which they are covered; theſe hills, I ſay, by thus extending the influence of their frozen creſts to the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas of *Peru*, are doubtleſs the cauſe of the temperature and equability which conſtantly prevail there. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where theſe mountains left us, and had nothing to ſereen us to the eaſtward, but the high lands on the Iſthmus of *Panama*, which are but mole-hills to the *Andes*, we then ſoon found that in a ſhort run we had totally changed our climate, paſſing in two or three days from the temperate air of *Peru*, to the ſultry burning atmoſphere of the *Weſt-Indies*. But it is time to return to our narration.

On the 10th of *November* we were three leagues South of the ſouthermoſt Iſland of *Lobos*, lying in the latitude 6° : 27′ South : There are two Iſlands of this name; this, called *Lobos de la Mar*; and another, which lies to the northward of it, very much reſembling it in ſhape and appearance, and often miſtaken for it, called

Lobos de tierra. We were now drawing near to the ſtation appointed to the *Glouceſter*, for which reaſon, fearing to miſs her, we made an eaſy ſail all night. The next morning, at day-break, we ſaw a ſhip in ſhore, and to windward, plying up to the coaſt: She had paſſed by us with the favour of the night, and we ſoon perceiving her not to be the *Glouceſter*, got our tacks on board, and gave her chace; but it proving very little wind, ſo that neither of us could make much way, the Commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace and the *Tryal*'s pinnace to be manned and armed, and to purſue the chace and board her. Lieutenant *Brett*, who commanded the barge, came up with her firſt, about nine o'clock, and running along-aſide of her, he fired a volley of ſmall ſhot between the maſts, juſt over the heads of the people on board, and then inſtantly entered with the greateſt part of his men; but the enemy made no reſiſtance, being ſufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlaſſes, and the volley they had juſt received. Lieutenant *Brett* ordered the ſails to be trimmed, and bore down to the Commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was arrived within about four miles of us he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the priſoners, who had given him ſome material intelligence, which he was deſirous the Commodore ſhould be acquainted with as ſoon as poſſible. On his arrival we learnt, that the prize was called *Nueſtra Senora del Carmin*, of about two hundred and ſeventy tuns burthen;

burthen; ſhe was commanded by *Marcos Morena*, a native of *Venice*, and had on board forty-three mariners: She was deep laden with ſteel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar, plank, ſnuff, roſarios, *European* bale goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, *Roman* indulgencies, and other ſpecies of merchandize: And though this cargoe, in our preſent circumſtances, was but of little value to us, yet with reſpect to the *Spaniards*, it was the moſt conſiderable capture that fell into our hands in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime coſt at *Panama*. This ſhip was bound to *Callao*, and had ſtopped at *Paita* in her paſſage, to take in a recruit of water and proviſions, and had not left that place above twenty-four hours, before ſhe fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr. *Brett* had received ſome important intelligence from the priſoners, which he endeavoured to acquaint the Commodore with immediately. The firſt perſon he received it from (though upon further examination it was confirmed by the other priſoners) was one *John Wiliams*, an *Iriſhman*, whom he found on board the *Spaniſh* veſſel. *Williams* was a Papiſt, who worked his paſſage from *Cadiz*, and had travelled over all the kingdom of *Mexico* as a Pedlar: He pretended, that by this buſineſs he had got 4 or 5000 dollars, but that he was embarraſſed by the Prieſts, who knew he had money, and was at laſt ſtript of all he had. He was indeed at preſent all in rags, being but juſt got out of *Paita* goal, where he had been

confined for ſome miſdemeanor: he expreſſed great joy upon ſeeing his countrymen, and immediately informed them, that a few days before, a veſſel came into *Paita*, where the Maſter of her informed the Governor, that he had been chaſed in the offing by a very large ſhip, which from her ſize, and the colour of her ſails, he was perſuaded muſt be one of the *Engliſh* ſquadron: This we then conjectured to have been the *Glouceſter*, as we afterwards found it was. The Governor, upon examining the Maſter, was fully ſatisfied of his relation, and immediately ſent away an expreſs to *Lima* to acquaint the Viceroy therewith: And the Royal Officer reſiding at *Paita*, being apprehenſive of a viſit from the *Engliſh*, was buſily employed in removing the King's treaſure and his own to *Piura*, a town within land, about fourteen leagues diſtant. We further learnt from our priſoners, that there was a very conſiderable ſum of money belonging to ſome Merchants at *Lima*, that was now lodged at the Cuſtom-houſe at *Paita*; and that this was intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel, which was then in the port of *Paita*, and was preparing to ſail with the utmoſt expedition, being bound for the bay of *Sonſonnate*, on the coaſt of *Mexico*, in order to purchaſe a part of the cargoe of the *Manila* ſhip. This veſſel at *Paita* was eſteemed a prime ſailor, and had juſt received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; and, in the opinion of the priſoners, ſhe might be able to ſail the ſucceeding morning. The character they gave us of this

this veſſel, on which the money was to be ſhipped, left us little reaſon to believe that our ſhip, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once ſuffered her to eſcape out of the Port. And therefore, as we were now diſcovered, and the coaſt would be ſoon alarmed, and as our cruiſing in theſe parts any longer would anſwer no purpoſe, the Commodore reſolved to ſurprize the place, having firſt minutely informed himſelf of its ſtrength and condition, and being fully ſatisfied, that there was little danger of loſing many of our men in the attempt. This ſurprize of *Paita*, beſides the treaſure it promiſed us, and its being the only enterprize it was in our power to undertake, had theſe other advantages attending it, that we ſhould in all probability ſupply ourſelves with great quantities of live proviſion, of which we were at this time in want: And we ſhould likewiſe have an opportunity of ſetting our priſoners on ſhore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater conſumption of our food than our ſtock that remained was capable of furniſhing long. In all theſe lights the attempt was a moſt eligible one, and what our neceſſities, our ſituation, and every prudential conſideration, prompted us to. How it ſucceeded, and how far it anſwered our expectations, ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

CHAP. VI.

The taking of *Paita*, and our proceedings till we left the coaſt of *Peru*.

THE town of *Paita* is ſituated in the latitude of 5°: 12′ South, in a moſt barren ſoil, compoſed only of ſand and ſlate: The extent of it (as may be ſeen in the plan of it) is but ſmall, containing in all leſs than two hundred families. The houſes are only ground-floors; the walls built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves: Theſe edifices, though extremely ſlight, are abundantly ſufficient for a climate, where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and is not ſeen in many years: So that it is ſaid, that a ſmall quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, it ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and as it were melted before it. The inhabitants of *Paita* are principally *Indians* and black ſlaves, or at leaſt a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of *Paita*, though in reality little more than a bay, is eſteemed the beſt on that part of the coaſt; and is indeed a very ſecure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all veſſels coming from the North; ſince it is here only that the ſhips from *Acapulco*, *Sonſonnate*, *Realeijo* and *Panama*, can touch and refreſh in their paſſage to *Callao*: And the length of theſe voyages (the wind for the greateſt part of the year being full againſt them)

them) renders it impoſſible to perform them without calling upon the coaſt for a recruit of freſh water. It is true, *Paita* is ſituated on ſo parched a ſpot, that it does not itſelf furniſh a drop of freſh water, or any kind of greens or proviſions, except fiſh and a few goats: But there is an *Indian* town called *Colan*, about two or three leagues diſtant to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, *&c.* are brought to *Paita* on balſas or floats, for the conveniency of the ſhips that touch here; and cattle are ſometimes brought from *Piura*, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water brought from *Colan* is whitiſh, and of a diſagreeable appearance, but is ſaid to be very wholſome: For it is pretended by the inhabitants, that it runs through large woods of ſarſaparilla, and that it is ſenſibly impregnated therewith. This port of *Paita*, beſides furniſhing the northern trade bound to *Callao*, with water and neceſſaries, is the uſual place where paſſengers from *Acapulco* or *Panama*, bound to *Lima*, diſembark; for, as it is two hundred leagues from hence to *Callao*, the port of *Lima*, and as the wind is generally contrary, the paſſage by ſea is very tedious and fatiguing, but by land there is a tolerable good road parallel to the coaſt, with many ſtations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

It appears by the plan, that the town of *Paita* is itſelf an open place; ſo that its ſole protection and defence is the fort marked (B) in the plan, plate the twenty-third. It was of conſe-

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quence to us to be well informed of the fabrick and ſtrength of this fort; and by the examination of our priſoners we found, that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being only ſurrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garriſon conſiſted of only one weak company, but the town itſelf might poſſibly arm three hundred men more.

Mr. *Anſon* having informed himſelf of the ſtrength of the place, reſolved (as hath been ſaid in the preceding chapter) to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues diſtant from the ſhore, far enough to prevent our being diſcovered; yet not ſo far, but that by making all the ſail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ſhips in the night. However, the Commodore prudently conſidered, that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ſhips, being ſuch large bodies, might be eaſily diſcovered at a diſtance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the ſtrength of the place did not require our whole force, reſolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen oared barge, and our own and the *Tryal*'s pinnaces on that ſervice; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well provided with arms and ammunition, he gave the command of the expedition to Lieutenant *Brett*, and gave him his neceſſary orders. And the better to prevent the diſappointment

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and confuſion which might ariſe from the darkneſs of the night, and the ignorance of the ſtreets and paſſages of the place, two of the *Spaniſh* Pilots were ordered to attend the Lieutenant, and to conduct him to the moſt convenient landing-place, and were afterwards to be his guides on ſhore; and that we might have the greater ſecurity for their faithful behaviour on this occaſion; the Commodore took care to aſſure all our priſoners, that, if the Pilots acted properly, they ſhould all of them be releaſed, and ſet on ſhore at this place; but in caſe of any miſconduct or treachery, he threatened them that the Pilots ſhould be inſtantly ſhot, and that he would carry all the reſt of the *Spaniards*, who were on board him, priſoners to *England*. So that the priſoners themſelves were intereſted in our ſucceſs, and therefore we had no reaſon to ſuſpect our Conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

And on this occaſion I cannot but remark a ſingular circumſtance of one of the Pilots employed by us in this buſineſs. It ſeems (as we afterwards learnt) he had been taken by Captain *Clipperton* above twenty years before, and had been forced to lead *Clipperton* and his people to the ſurpriſe of *Truxillo*, a town within land to the ſouthward of *Paita*, where however he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to ſave them, though the place was taken. Now that the only two attempts on ſhore, which were made at ſo long an interval from each other, ſhould be guided by the ſame perſon, and he too a priſoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary

trary to his inclination, is an incident ſo very extraordinary, that I could not help taking notice of it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ſhips themſelves ſtood towards the Port with all the ſail they could make, being ſecure that we were yet at too great a diſtance to be ſeen. But about ten o'clock at night, the ſhips being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant *Brett*, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being diſcovered; but no ſooner had he entered it, than ſome of the people, on board a veſſel riding at anchor there, perceived him, who inſtantly put off in their boat, rowing towards the fort, ſhouting and crying, *the Engliſh*, *the Engliſh dogs*, &c. by which the whole town was ſuddenly alarmed, and our people ſoon obſerved ſeveral lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant *Brett*, on this, encouraged his men to pull briſkly up to the ſhore, that they might give the enemy as little time as poſſible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the ſhore, the people in the fort had got ready ſome of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though in the darkneſs of the night it might be well ſuppoſed that chance had a greater ſhare than ſkill in their direction, yet the firſt ſhot paſſed extremely near one of the boats, whiſtling juſt over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; ſo that they

they had reached the ſhore, and were in part diſembarked by the time the ſecond gun fired. As ſoon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the *Spaniſh* Pilots to the entrance of a narrow ſtreet, not above fifty yards diſtant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large ſquare at the end of this ſtreet, the fort being one ſide of the ſquare, and the Governor's houſe another, as may be ſeen more diſtinctly in the plan, where likewiſe the road they took from their landing to the fort is marked out by a prickt line. In this march (though performed with tolerable regularity) the ſhouts and clamours of threeſcore ſailors, who had been confined ſo long on ſhip-board, and were now for the firſt time on ſhore in an enemy's country, joyous, as they always are, when they land, and animated beſides in the preſent caſe with the hopes of an immenſe pillage; the huzza's, I ſay, of this ſpirited detachment, joined with the noiſe of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at leaſt three hundred; by which perſuaſion the inhabitants were ſo greatly intimidated, that they were much more ſolicitous about the means of their flight than of their reſiſtance: So that though upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the Merchants who owned the treaſure then in the town; and who, with a few others, had ranged themſelves

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in a gallery that ran round the Governor's houſe; yet that poſt was immediately abandoned upon the firſt fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet poſſeſſion of the parade.

On this ſucceſs Lieutenant *Brett* divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to ſurround the Governor's houſe, and if poſſible to ſecure the Governor, whilſt he himſelf with the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without oppoſition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their eſcape over the walls. By this means the whole place was maſtered in leſs than a quarter of an hour's time from the firſt landing, with no other loſs than that of one man killed on the ſpot, and two wounded; one of which was the *Spaniſh* Pilot of the *Tereſa*, who received a ſlight bruiſe by a ball which grazed on his wriſt: Indeed another of the company, the Honourable Mr. *Kepple*, ſon to the Earl of *Albemarle*, had a very narrow eſcape; for having on a jocky cap, one ſide of the peak was ſhaved off cloſe to his temple by a ball, which however did him no other injury.

And now Lieutenant *Brett*, after this ſucceſs, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the Governor's houſe, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, and to ſecure the effects in the place from being embezzled. And this being done, his next care was to ſeize on the Cuſtom-houſe where the treaſure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town,

town, that he might know what farther precautions it was neceſſary to take; but he ſoon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable: For the greateſt part of them (being in bed when the place was ſurprized) had run away with ſo much precipitation, that they had not given themſelves time to put on their cloaths. And in this precipitate rout the Governor was not the laſt to ſecure himſelf, for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young Lady of about ſeventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him, though ſhe too was afterwards carried off in her ſhift by a couple of centinels, juſt as the detachment, ordered to inveſt the houſe, arrived before it. This eſcape of the Governor was an unpleaſing circumſtance, as Mr. *Anſon* had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant *Brett* to ſecure his perſon, if poſſible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ranſom of the place: But it ſeems his alertneſs rendered it impoſſible to ſeize him. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except ſome ſtout Negroes which were found in the place; theſe, inſtead of being ſhut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to aſſiſt in carrying the treaſure from the Cuſtom-houſe and other places to the fort: However, there was care taken that they ſhould be always attended by a file of muſqueteers.

The tranſporting the treaſure from the Cuſtom-houſe to the fort, was the principal occupation

tion of Mr. *Brett*'s people, after he had got poſſeſſion of the place. But the ſailors, while they were thus employed, could not be prevented from entring the houſes which lay near them, in ſearch of private pillage. And the firſt things which occurred to them, being the cloaths which the *Spaniards* in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the cuſtom of the country, were moſt of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly ſeized theſe glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowſers and jackets; not forgetting, at the ſame time, the tye or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the cloaths; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it: And thoſe, who came lateſt into the faſhion, not finding mens cloaths ſufficient to equip themſelves, they were obliged to take up with womens gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no ſcruple of putting on, and blending with their own greaſy dreſs. So that when a party of them thus ridiculouſly metamorphiſed firſt appeared before Mr. *Brett*, he was extreamly ſurpized at their appearance, and could not immediately be ſatisfied they were his own people.

Theſe were the tranſactions of our detachment on ſhore at *Paita* the firſt night. And now to return to what was done on board the *Centurion* in that interval. I muſt obſerve, that after the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then ſuppoſing our datach-

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ment to be near landing, we made an eaſy ſail for the bay. About ſeven in the morning we began to open the bay, and ſoon after we had a view of the town; and though we had no reaſon to doubt of the ſucceſs of the enterprize, yet it was with great joy that we firſt diſcovered an infallible ſignal of the certainty of our hopes; this was by means of our perſpectives, for thro' them we ſaw an *Engliſh* flag hoiſted on the flag-ſtaff of the fort, which to us was an inconteſtable proof that our people had got poſſeſſion of the town. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off ſhore, would permit us: And at eleven, the *Tryal*'s boat came on board us, loaden with dollars and church-plate; and the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's tranſactions, ſuch as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we came to an anchor in ten fathom and a half, at a mile and a half diſtance from the town, and were conſequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourſe with thoſe on ſhore. And now we found that Mr. *Brett* had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treaſure without interruption; but that the enemy had rendezvouſed from all parts of the country on a hill, at the back of the town, where they made no inconſiderable appearance: For amongſt the reſt of their force, there were two hundred horſe ſeemingly very well armed, and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furniſhed with trumpets, drums

and ſtandards. Theſe troops paraded about the hill with great oſtentation, ſounding their military muſick, and practiſing every art to intimidate us, (as our numbers on ſhore were by this time not unknown to them) in hopes that we might be induced by our fears to abandon the place before the pillage was compleated. But we were not ſo ignorant as to believe, that this body of horſe, which ſeemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in ſtreets and among houſes, even had their numbers been three times as great; and therefore, notwithſtanding their menaces, we went on, as long as the day-light laſted, calmly, in ſending off the treaſure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreſhments, ſuch as hogs, fowls, *&c.* which we found here in great abundance. But at night, to prevent any ſurprize, the Commodore ſent on ſhore a reinforcement, who poſted themſelves in all the ſtreets, leading to the parade; and for their greater ſecurity, they traverſed the ſtreets with barricadoes ſix feet high: And the enemy continuing quiet all night, we, at day-break, returned again to our labour of loading the boats, and ſending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what conſequence it would have been to us, had fortune ſeconded the prudent views of the Commodore, by permitting us to have ſecured the Governor. For we found in the place many ſtore-houſes full of valuable effects, which were uſeleſs to us at preſent, and ſuch as we could not find room for

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on board. But had the Governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for a ranſom, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: Whereas, he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from *Piura*, which was fourteen leagues diſtant, he was ſo elated with his numbers, and ſo fond of his new military command, that he ſeemed not to trouble himſelf about the fate of his Government. So that though Mr. *Anſon* ſent ſeveral meſſages to him by the inhabitants, who were in our power, deſiring him to enter into a treaty for the ranſom of the town and goods, giving him, at the ſame time, an intimation that he ſhould be far from inſiſting on a rigorous equivalent, but perhaps might be ſatisfied with ſome live cattle, and a few neceſſaries for the uſe of the ſquadron, and aſſuring him too, that if he would not condeſcend at leaſt to treat, he would ſet fire to the town, and all the warehouſes; yet the Governor was ſo imprudent and arrogant, that he deſpiſed all theſe reiterated applications, and did not deign even to return the leaſt anſwer to them.

On the ſecond day of our being in poſſeſſion of the place, ſeveral Negroe ſlaves deſerted from the enemy on the hill, and coming into the town, voluntarily entered into our ſervice: One of theſe was well known to a Gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at *Panama*. And the *Spaniards* without the town

being in extreme want of water, many of their ſlaves crept into the place by ſtealth, and carried away ſeveral jars of water to their maſters on the hill; and though ſome of them were ſeized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirſt amongſt the enemy was ſo preſſing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. And now, on this ſecond day we were aſſured, both by the deſerters and by theſe priſoners we took, that the *Spaniards* on the hill, who were by this time encreaſed to a formidable number, had reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night; and that one *Gordon*, a *Scotch* Papiſt, and Captain of a ſhip in thoſe ſeas, was to have the command of this enterprize. But we, notwithſtanding, continued ſending off our boats, and proſecuted our work without the leaſt hurry or precipitation till the evening; and then a reinforcement was again ſent on ſhore by the Commodore, and Lieutenant *Brett* doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes; and our poſts being connected by the means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being viſited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum, theſe marks of our vigilance which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtleſs hear the drum, if not the calls of the centinels; theſe marks, I ſay, of our vigilance, and of our readineſs to receive them, cooled their reſolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; ſo that we paſſed this ſecond night with as little moleſtation as we had done the firſt.

We had finiſhed ſending the treaſure on board the *Centurion* the evening before; ſo that the third morning, being the 15th of *November*, the boats were employed in carrying off the moſt valuable part of the effects that remained in the town. And the Commodore intending to ſail this day, he, about ten o'clock, purſuant to his promiſe, ſent all his priſoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on ſhore, giving orders to Lieutenant *Brett* to ſecure them in one of the churches, under a ſtrict guard, till he was ready to embark his men. Mr. *Brett* was at the ſame time ordered to ſet the whole town on fire, except the two churches (which by good fortune ſtood at ſome diſtance from the other houſes) and then he was to abandon the place, and to come on board. Theſe orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. *Brett* immediately ſet his men to work, to diſtribute pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles (of which great quantities were found here) into houſes ſituated in different ſtreets of the town, ſo that, the place being fired in many quarters at the ſame time, the deſtruction might be more violent and ſudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguiſh it. Theſe preparations being made, he, in the next place, ordered the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up; and then ſetting fire to thoſe houſes which were moſt windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. And the part of the beach where he in-

tended to embark being an open place without the town, near where the churches are marked in the forementioned plan, the *Spaniards* on the hill perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. And for this purpose a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty, picked out, as I suppose, for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not been prepossessed with a juster opinion of their prowess, we might have suspected, that now we were on the open beach with no advantage of situation, they would certainly have charged us: But we presumed (and we were not mistaken) that this was mere ostentation. For, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they advanced with, Mr. *Brett* had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, but the enemy stopped their career, and never dared to advance a step further.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for some time delayed, by missing one of their number; but being unable, by their mutual enquiries amongst each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats, and to put off without him. And the last man was actually embarked, and the boats just putting off, when they heard him calling to them to take him in. The town was by this time so thoroughly on

fire,

fire, and the ſmoke covered the beach ſo effectually, that they could ſcarcely ſee him, though they heard his voice. The Lieutenant inſtantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durſt, being extremely frightned with the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtleſs were, with the pillage and deſtruction of their town. On enquiring into the cauſe of his ſtaying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a doſe of brandy, which had thrown him into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to ſcorch him. He was ſtrangely amazed on firſt opening his eyes, to ſee the place all in a blaze on one ſide, and ſeveral *Spaniards* and *Indians* not far from him on the other. The greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his fright inſtantly reduced him to a ſtate of ſobriety, and gave him ſufficient preſence of mind to puſh through the thickeſt of the ſmoke, as the likelieſt means to eſcape the enemy; and making the beſt of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durſt, (for he could not ſwim) before he ventured to look back.

And here I cannot but obſerve, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and ſpirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have ſo far neglected his duty, as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were on ſhore, was much

more regular than could well have been expected from ſailors, who had been ſo long confined to a ſhip: And though part of this prudent demeanor muſt doubtleſs be imputed to the diligence of their Officers, and to the excellent diſcipline to which they had been long inured on board the Commodore, yet it was doubtleſs no ſmall reputation to the men, that they ſhould in general refrain from indulging themſelves in thoſe intoxicating liquors, which they found ready to their hands in almoſt every warehouſe.

And having mentioned this ſingle inſtance of drunkenneſs, I cannot paſs by another overſight, which was likewiſe the only one of its kind, and which was attended with very particular circumſtances. There was an *Engliſhman*, who had formerly wrought as a ſhip-carpenter in the yard at *Portſmouth*, but leaving his country, had afterwards entered into the *Spaniſh* ſervice, and was employed by them at the port of *Guaiaquil*; and it being well known to his friends in *England* that he was then in that part of the world, they put letters on board the *Centurion*, directed to him. This man being then by accident amongſt the *Spaniards*, who were retired to the hill at *Paita*, he was deſirous (as it ſhould ſeem) of acquiring ſome reputation amongſt his new Maſters. With this view he came down unarmed to a centinel of ours, who was placed at ſome diſtance from the fort towards the enemy, and pretending to be deſirous of ſurrendring himſelf, and of entering into our ſervice. Our centinel had a cock'd piſtol,

but

but being deceived by the other's fair ſpeeches, he was ſo imprudent as to let him approach much nearer than he ought; ſo that the Ship-wright, watching his opportunity, ruſhed on the centinel, and ſeizing his piſtol, wrenched it out of his hand, and inſtantly ran away with it up the hill. By this time, two of our people, who ſeeing the fellow advance, had ſuſpected his intention, were making towards him, and were thereby prepared to purſue him; but he got to the top of the hill before they could reach him, and then turning about, fired the piſtol; at which inſtant his purſuers fired at him, and though he was at a great diſtance, and the creſt of the hill hid him as ſoon as they had fired, ſo that they took it for granted they had miſſed him, yet we afterwards learnt that he was ſhot through the body, and had fallen down dead the very next ſtep he took after he was out of ſight. The centinel too, who had been thus groſsly impoſed upon, did not eſcape unpuniſhed; for he was ordered to be ſeverely whipt for being thus ſhamefully ſurprized upon his poſt, and for having given an example of careleſſneſs, which, if followed in other inſtances, might prove fatal to us all. But to return:

By the time our people had taken their comrade out of the water, and were making the beſt of their way for the ſquadron, the flames had taken poſſeſſion of every part of the town, and had got ſuch hold, both by means of combuſtibles that had been diſtributed for that purpoſe,

and

and by the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was ſufficiently apparent, no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could poſſibly put a ſtop to it, or prevent the entire deſtruction of the place, and all the merchandize contained therein. A whole town on fire at once, eſpecially a place that burnt with ſuch facility and violence, being a very ſingular ſpectacle, Mr. *Brett* had the curioſity to delineate its appearance, together with that of the ſhips in the harbour, which may be ſeen in the twenty-fourth plate.

Our detachment under Lieutenant *Brett* having ſafely joined the ſquadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening. He found, when he firſt came into the bay, ſix veſſels of the enemy at anchor; one of which was the ſhip, which, according to our intelligence, was to have ſailed with the treaſure to the coaſt of *Mexico*, and which, as we were perſuaded ſhe was a good ſailor, we reſolved to take with us: The others were two Snows, a Bark, and two Row-gallies of thirty-ſix oars a-piece: Theſe laſt, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the ſame kind built at different ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of *Callao*: For the *Spaniards*, on the firſt intelligence of our ſquadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of *Lima*. The Commodore, having no occaſion for theſe other veſſels, had ordered

ordered the masts of all five of them to be cut away on his first arrival; and now, at his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and scuttled and sunk; and the command of the remaining ship, called the *Solidad*, being given to Mr. *Hughs*, the Lieutenant of the *Tryal*, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the squadron, towards midnight, weighed anchor, and sailed out of the bay, being now augmented to six sail, that is the *Centurion* and the *Tryal* Prize, together with the *Carmelo*, the *Teresa*, the *Carmin*, and our last acquired vessel the *Solidad*.

And now, before I entirely quit the account of our transactions at this place, it may not perhaps be improper to give a succinct relation of the booty we made here, and of the loss the *Spaniards* sustained. I have before observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but as the greatest part of them were what we could neither dispose of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandize can only be rudely guessed at. But the *Spaniards*, in the representations they made to the Court of *Madrid*, (as we were afterwards assured) estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars: And when it is considered, that no small part of the goods we burnt there were of the richest and most expensive species, as broadcloaths, silks, cambrics, velvets, *&c.* I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate. As to our parts, our acquisition, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was

was yet in itſelf far from deſpicable; for the wrought plate, dollars and other coin which fell into our hands amounted to upwards of 30,000 *l.* ſterling, beſides ſeveral rings, bracelets, and jewels, whoſe intrinſic value we could not then determine; and over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; ſo that upon the whole it was by much the moſt important booty we made upon that coaſt.

There remains, before I take leave of this place, another particularity to be mentioned, which, on account of the great honour which our national character in thoſe parts has thence received, and the reputation which our Commodore in particular has thereby acquired, merits a diſtinct and circumſtantial diſcuſſion. It has been already related, that all the priſoners taken by us in our preceding prizes were put on ſhore, and diſcharged at this place; amongſt which, there were ſome perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, particularly a youth of about ſeventeen years of age, ſon of the Vice-Preſident of the Council of *Chili*. As the barbarity of the Buccaneers, and the artful uſe the Eccleſiaſtics had made of it, had filled the natives of thoſe countries with the moſt terrible ideas of the *Engliſh* cruelty, we always found our priſoners, at their firſt coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety. In particular this youth, whom I laſt mentioned, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the moſt moving manner, regretting,

gretting, in very plaintive terms, his parents his brothers, his ſiſters, and his native country; of all which he was fully perſuaded he had taken his laſt farewel, believing that he was now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel ſervitude; nor was he ſingular in his fears, for his companions on board, and indeed all the *Spaniards* that came into our power, had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation. Mr. *Anſon* conſtantly exerted his utmoſt endeavours to efface theſe inhuman impreſſions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for, ſhould dine at his table by turns; and giving the ſtricteſt orders too, that they ſhould at all times, and in every circumſtance, be treated with the utmoſt decency and humanity. But notwithſtanding this precaution, it was generally obſerved, that for the firſt day or two they did not quit their fears, but ſuſpected the gentleneſs of their uſage to be only preparatory to ſome unthought-of calamity. However, being confirmed by time, they grew perfectly eaſy in their ſituation, and remarkably chearful, ſo that it was often diſputable, whether or no they conſidered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above-mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at laſt ſo far conquered his melancholy ſurmiſes, and had taken ſuch an affection to Mr. *Anſon*, and ſeemed ſo much pleaſed with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever ſeen before,

before, that it is doubtful to me, whether, if his own opinion had been taken, he would not have preferred a voyage to *England* in the *Centurion*, to the being ſet on ſhore at *Paita*, where he was at liberty to return to his country and his friends.

This conduct of the Commodore to his priſoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the higheſt idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewiſe (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole *Engliſh* Nation. But whatever they might be diſpoſed to think of Mr. *Anſon* before the taking of the *Tereſa*, their veneration for him was prodigiouſly increaſed by his conduct towards thoſe women, whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that veſſel: For the leaving them in the poſſeſſion of their apartments, the ſtrict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to ſtay with them as their guardian, were meaſures that ſeemed ſo different from what might be expected from an enemy and an heretic, that the *Spaniards* on board, though they had themſelves experienced his beneficence, were ſurprized at this new inſtance of it, and the more ſo, as all this was done without his ever having ſeen the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themſelves too were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they

they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at *Paita*, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the *Centurion*, to return him thanks in perſon. Indeed, all the priſoners left us with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jeſuit in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an Eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, could not help expreſſing himſelf with great thankfulneſs for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring, that he ſhould conſider it as his duty to do Mr. *Anſon* juſtice at all times; adding, that his uſage of the men-priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, and ſuch as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occaſions: But that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary, and ſo extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtical character, would be ſcarcely ſufficient to render it credible. And indeed we were afterwards informed, that both he and the reſt of our priſoners had not been ſilent on this head, but had, both at *Lima* and at other places, given the greateſt encomium to our Commodore; the Jeſuit in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical ſenſe that article of his Church, which aſſerts the impoſſibility of hereticks being ſaved.

And

And let it not be imagined, that the impreſſions which the *Spaniards* hence received to our advantage, is a matter of ſmall import; for, not to mention ſeveral of our countrymen who have already felt the good effects of theſe prepoſſeſſions, the *Spaniards* are a Nation, whoſe good opinion of us is doubtleſs of more conſequence than that of all the world beſides: Not only as the commerce we have formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is ſo extremely valuable; but alſo as the tranſacting it does ſo immediately depend on the honour and good faith of thoſe who are entruſted with its management. But however, had no national conveniencies attended it, the Commodore's equity and good temper would not leſs have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to thoſe, whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I ſhall only add, that by his conſtant attachment to theſe humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation amongſt the *Creolian Spaniards*, which is not confined merely to the coaſt of the *South-Seas*, but is extended through all the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*; ſo that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of moſt of the *Spaniſh* inhabitants of that prodigious empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

From our departure from *Paita*, to our arrival at *Quibo*.

WHEN we got under ſail from the road of *Paita* (which, as I have already obſerved, was about midnight, on the 16th of *November*) we ſtood to the weſtward, and in the morning the Commodore gave orders, that the whole ſquadron ſhould ſpread themſelves, in order to look out for the *Glouceſter*. For we now drew near to the ſtation where Captain *Mitchel* had been directed to cruiſe, and hourly expected to get ſight of him; but the whole day paſſed without ſeeing him.

And now a jealouſy, which had taken its riſe at *Paita*, between thoſe who had been ordered on ſhore for the attack, and thoſe who had continued on board, grew to ſuch a height, that the Commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority to appeaſe it. The ground of this animoſity was the plunder gotten at *Paita*, which thoſe who had acted on ſhore had appropriated to themſelves, and conſidered it as a reward for the riſques they had run, and the reſolution they had ſhown in that ſervice. But thoſe, who had remained on board, conſidered this as a very partial and unjuſt procedure, urging, that had it been left to their choice, they ſhould have preferred

the acting on ſhore to the continuing on board; that their duty, while their comrades were on ſhore, was extremely fatiguing; for beſides the labour of the day, they were conſtantly under arms all night to ſecure the priſoners, whoſe numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then neceſſary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture: That upon the whole it could not be denied, but that the preſence of a ſufficient force on board was as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the enterprize, as the action of the others on ſhore, and therefore thoſe who had continued on board inſiſted, that they could not be deprived of their ſhare of the plunder, without manifeſt injuſtice. Theſe were the conteſts amongſt our men, which were carried on with great heat on both ſides: And though the plunder in queſtion was a very trifle, in compariſon of the treaſure taken in the place, (in which there was no doubt but thoſe on board had an equal right) yet as the obſtinacy of ſailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in diſpute, the Commodore thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this ferment betimes. And accordingly, the morning after our leaving of *Paita*, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck; where, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion: But then repreſenting to them the reaſons urged, by thoſe who had continued on board, for an equal diſtribution of the

plunder, he told them, that he thought theſe reaſons very concluſive, and that the expectations of their comrades were juſtly founded; and therefore he ordered, that not only the men, but all the officers likewiſe, who had been employed in taking the place, ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck; and that it ſhould be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commiſſion: And to prevent thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the Commodore added, that as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like ſervices, he would give his entire ſhare to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troubleſome affair, which if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with miſchievous conſequences, was by the Commodore's prudence ſoon appeaſed, to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company: Not but there were ſome few, whoſe ſelfiſh diſpoſitions were uninfluenced by the juſtice of this procedure, and who were incapable of diſcerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important buſineſs employed the beſt part of the day, after we came from *Paita*. And now, at night, having no ſight of the *Glouceſter*, the Commodore ordered the ſquadron to bring to, that we might not paſs her in the dark. The

next morning we again looked out for her, and at ten we saw a sail, to which we gave chace; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to her to discover her to be the *Gloucester*, with a small vessel in tow. About an hour after, we were joined by them; and then we learnt that Captain *Mitchel*, in the whole time of his cruise, had only taken two prizes; one of them being a small Snow, whose cargoe consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000 *l.* in specie; and the other a large boat or launch, which the *Gloucester*'s barge came up with near the shore. The prisoners on board this vessel alledged, that they were very poor, and that their loading consisted only of cotton; tho' the circumstances in which the barge surprized them, seemed to insinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be; for the *Gloucester*'s people found them at dinner upon pidgeon-pye, served up in silver dishes. However, the Officer who commanded the barge having opened several of the jars on board, to satisfy his curiosity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the prisoners gave him: But the cargoe being taken into the *Gloucester*, and there examined more strictly, they were agreeably surprized to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of false package; and that there was concealed amongst the cotton, in every jar, a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount in the whole of near 12,000 *l.* This treasure was going to *Paita*, and belonged to the same

ſame Merchants who were the proprietors of the greateſt part of the money we had taken there; ſo that had this boat eſcaped the *Glouceſter*, it is probable her cargoe would have fallen into our hands. Beſides theſe two prizes which we have mentioned, the *Glouceſter*'s people told us, that they had been in ſight of two or three other ſhips of the enemy which had eſcaped them; and one of them we had reaſon to believe, from ſome of our intelligence, was of an immenſe value.

Being now joined by the *Glouceſter* and her prize, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtand to the northward, and make the beſt of our way either to Cape St. *Lucas* on *California*, or to Cape *Corientes* on the coaſt of *Mexico*. Indeed the Commodore, when at *Juan Fernandes*, had determined with himſelf to touch in the neighbourhood of *Panama*, and to endeavour to get ſome correſpondence over land with the fleet under the command of Admiral *Vernon*. For when we departed from *England*, we left a large force at *Portſmouth*, which was intended to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, there to be employed in an expedition againſt ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſettlements. And Mr. *Anſon* taking it for granted, that this enterprize had ſucceeded, and that *Porto Bello* perhaps might be then garriſoned by *Britiſh* troops, he hoped that on his arrival at the *Iſthmus*, he ſhould eaſily procure an intercourſe with our country-men on the other ſide, either by the *Indians*, who were greatly diſpoſed in our favour, or even by the *Spaniards* themſelves, ſome of whom, for proper rewards, might be induced to carry on this

intelligence, which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty; ſo that Mr. *Anſon* flattered himſelf, that he might by this means have received a reinforcement of men from the other ſide, and that by ſettling a prudent plan of operations with our Commanders in the *Weſt-Indies*, he might have taken even *Panama* itſelf; which would have given to the *Britiſh* Nation the poſſeſſion of that *Iſthmus*, whereby we ſhould have been in effect maſters of all the treaſures of *Peru*, and ſhould have had in our hands an equivalent for any demands, however extraordinary, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

Such were the projects which the Commodore revolved in his thoughts at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, notwithſtanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. And indeed, had the ſucceſs of our force in the *Weſt-Indies* been anſwerable to the general expectation, it cannot be denied but theſe views would have been the moſt prudent that could have been thought of. But in examining the papers which were found on board the *Carmelo*, the firſt prize we took, we learnt (though I then omitted to mention it) that our attempt againſt *Carthagena* had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet, in that part of the world, would engage in any new enterprize, that would at all facilitate this plan. And therefore Mr. *Anſon* gave over all hopes of being reinforced a-croſs the *Iſthmus*, and conſequently had no inducement at preſent to pro-

proceed to *Panama*, as he was incapable of attacking the place; and there was great reason to believe, that by this time there was a general embargo on all the coast.

The only feasible measure then which was left us, was to get as soon as possible to the southern parts of *California*, or to the adjacent coast of *Mexico*, there to cruise for the *Manila* Galeon, which we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of *Acapulco*. And we doubted not to get on that station, time enough to intercept her; for this ship does not actually arrive at *Acapulco* till towards the middle of *January*, and we were now but in the middle of *November*, and did not conceive that our passage thither would cost us above a month or five weeks; so that we imagined, we had near twice as much time as was necessary for our purpose. Indeed there was a business which we foresaw would occasion some delay, but we flattered ourselves that it would be dispatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of prisoners we had entertained on board, since our leaving the Island of *Fernandes*, had so far exhausted our stock, that it was impossible to think of venturing upon this passage to the coast of *Mexico*, till we had procured a fresh supply; especially as at *Paita*, where we had some hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our consumption during the time we stayed there. It was for some time a matter of deliberation, where we should take in this necessary ar-

ticle; but by consulting the accounts of former Navigators, and examining our prisoners, we at last resolved for the Island of *Quibo*, situated at the mouth of the bay of *Panama:* Nor was it but on good grounds that the Commodore conceived this to be the propereſt place for watering the squadron. Indeed, there was a small Island called *Cocos*, which was less out of our way than *Quibo*, where some of the Buccaneers have pretended they found water; but none of our prisoners knew any thing of it, and it was thought too hazardous to risque the safety of the squadron, and expose ourselves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there, on the mere authority of these legendary writers, of whose misrepresentations and falsities we had almost daily experience. Besides, by going to *Quibo* we were not without hopes that some of the enemies ships bound to or from *Panama* might fall into our hands, particularly such of them as were put to sea, before they had any intelligence of our squadron.

Having determined therefore to go to *Quibo*, we directed our course to the northward, being eight sail in company, and consequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we discovered Cape *Blanco*, bearing S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E, seven miles distant. This Cape lies in the latitude of 4° : 15′ South, and is always made by ships bound either to windward or to leeward; so that off this Cape is a most excellent station to cruise upon the enemy. By this time we found that our last prize, the

Solidad

Solidad was far from anſwering the character given her of a good ſailor; and ſhe and the *Santa Tereſa* delaying us conſiderably, the Commodore ordered them both to be cleared of every thing that might prove uſeful to the reſt of the ſhips, and then to be burnt; and having given proper inſtructions, and a rendezvous to the *Glouceſter* and the other prizes, we proceeded in our courſe for *Quibo*; and, on the 22d in the morning, ſaw the Iſland of *Plata*, bearing Eaſt, diſtant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to ſtand cloſe in with it, both to diſcover if there were any ſhips between that Iſland and the Continent, and likewiſe to look out for a ſtream of freſh water, which was reported to be there, and which would have ſaved us the trouble of going to *Quibo*; but ſhe returned without having ſeen any ſhip, or finding any water. At three in the afternoon point *Manta* bore S. E. by E. ſeven miles diſtant; and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, Captain *Mitchel* took this opportunity of ſending away ſeveral of his priſoners from the *Glouceſter* in the *Spaniſh* launch. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing proviſions on board the *Tryal* and other prizes, to compleat their ſtock for ſix months: And that the *Centurion* might be the better prepared to give the *Manila* ſhip (one of which we were told was of an immenſe ſize) a warm reception, the Carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks in the main and fore-tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns.

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On the 25th we had a ſight of the Iſland of *Gallo*, bearing E. S. E. ½ E, four leagues diſtant; and from hence we croſſed the bay of *Panama* with a N. W. courſe, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the Iſland of *Quibo*. But we afterwards found that we ought to have ſtood more to the weſtward; for the winds in a ſhort time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult for us to gain the Iſland. And now, after paſſing the equinoctial, (which we did on the 22d) and leaving the neighbourhood of the *Cordilleras*, and ſtanding more and more towards the *Iſthmus*, where the communication of the atmoſphere to the eaſtward and the weſtward was no longer interrupted, we found in very few days an extraordinary alteration in the climate. For inſtead of that uniform temperature, where neither the exceſs of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now for ſeveral days together cloſe and ſultry weather, reſembling what we had before met with on the coaſt of *Brazil*, and in other parts between the tropics on the eaſtern ſide of *America*. We had beſides frequent calms and heavy rains; which we at firſt aſcribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all ſeaſons of the year; but obſerving that it attended us to the latitude of ſeven degrees North, we were at length induced to believe, that the ſtormy ſeaſon, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, the Vandevals, was not yet over; though many writers, particularly Captain *Shelvocke*, poſitively aſſert, that this ſeaſon begins

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in *June*, and is ended in *November*; and our prisoners all affirmed the same thing. But perhaps its end may not be always constant, and it might last this year longer than usual.

On the 27th, Captain *Mitchel* having finished the clearing of his largest prize, she was scuttled, and set on fire; but we still consisted of five ships and were fortunate enough to find them all good sailors; so that we never occasioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long disused to, we found it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the *Centurion*, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3d of *December* we had a view of the Island of *Quibo*; the East end of which then bore from us N. N. W. four leagues distant, and the Island of *Quicara* W. N. W, at about the same distance. Here we struck ground with sixty-five fathom of line, and found the bottom to consist of grey sand, with black specks. There is inserted, in the 28th plate, (being contained in the same plate with a view of the hill of *Petaplan*) a view of these two Islands, where *(a)* represents the S. E. end of *Quibo*, bearing N. by W. four leagues distant: And *(b)* the Island of *Quicara*, which bears from the point *(a)* W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S, and is distant from it four leagues, the point *(a)* being itself in the latitude of 7°: 20′ North. When we had thus got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly; and therefore, night coming on, we thought it advisable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be

some

ſome ſhoals in the entrance of the channel. At ſix the next morning point *Mariato* bore N. E. ½ N, three or four leagues diſtant. In weathering this point all the ſquadron, except the *Centurion*, were very near it; and the *Glouceſter* being the leewardmoſt ſhip, was forced to tack and ſtand to the ſouthward, ſo that we loſt ſight of her. At nine, the Iſland *Sebaco* bore N. W. by N, four leagues diſtant; but the wind ſtill proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the ſucceeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, at eleven the next morning the wind happily ſettled in the S. S. W, and we bore away for the S. S. E. end of the Iſland, and about three in the afternoon entered *Canal Bueno*, paſſing round a ſhoal which ſtretches off about two miles from the South point of the Iſland. This *Canal Bueno*, or *Good Channel*, is at leaſt ſix miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half diſtance of the breakers; though, in all probability, if it had been neceſſary, we might have ventured much nearer, without incurring the leaſt danger. At ſeven in the evening we came to an anchor in thirty-three fathom muddy ground; the South point of the Iſland bearing S. E. by S. a remarkable high part of the Iſland W. by N. and the Iſland *Sebaco* E. by N. Being thus arrived at this Iſland of *Quibo*, the account of the place, and of our tranſactions there, ſhall be referred to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Our proceedings at *Quibo*, with an account of the place.

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor, an officer was diſpatched on ſhore to diſcover the watering place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we ſent the long-boat for a load of water, and at the ſame time we weighed and ſtood farther in with our ſhips. At two we came again to an anchor in twenty-two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken ſhells, the watering place now bearing from us N. W. ½ N, only three quarters of a mile diſtant. A plan of the road where we lay and of the Eaſt-end of the Iſland is to be ſeen in the 20th plate, where the ſoundings are laid down, ſuch as we found them, the latitude of the S. E. point of the Iſland being, as hath been already mentioned, 7°: 20′ North.

This Iſland of *Quibo* is extremely convenient for wooding and watering; for the trees grow cloſe to the high-water mark, and a large rapid ſtream of freſh water runs over the ſandy beach into the ſea: So that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole Iſland is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It conſiſts of a continued wood ſpread over the whole ſurface of the

the country, which preſerves its verdure all the year round. Amongſt the other wood, we found there abundance of caſſia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared ſingular to us, that conſidering the climate and the ſhelter, we ſhould ſee no other birds there than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed of theſe laſt there were prodigious flights. Next to theſe birds, the animals we found there in moſt plenty were monkeys and guanos, and theſe we frequently killed for food; for though there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them, ſo that though we ſaw them often, we killed only two during our ſtay. Our priſoners aſſured us, that this Iſland abounded with tygers; and we did once diſcover the print of a tyger's paw upon the beach, but the tygers themſelves we never ſaw. The *Spaniards* too informed us, that there was often found in the woods a moſt miſchievous ſerpent, called the flying ſnake, which they ſaid darted itſelf from the boughs of trees on either man or beaſt that came within its reach; and whoſe ſting, they believed, to be inevitable death. Beſides theſe miſchievous land-animals, the ſea hereabouts is infeſted with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary ſize; and we often obſerved a large kind of flat-fiſh, jumping a conſiderable height out of the water, which we ſuppoſed to be the fiſh that is ſaid frequently to deſtroy the pearl divers, by claſping them in its fins as they riſe from the bottom; and we were told that the divers, for their ſe-

curity,

curity, are now always armed with a ſharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they ſtick into the belly of the fiſh, and thereby diſengage themſelves from its embraces.

Whilſt the ſhip continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eaſtern ſide of the Iſland. And in the places where they put on ſhore in the courſe of his expedition, they generally found the ſoil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the N. E. point of the Iſland, they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſurpaſſed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind, which human art or induſtry hath hitherto produced. It was a river of tranſparent water, about forty yards wide, which ran down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty yards in length. The channel it ran in was very irregular; for it was entirely formed of rock, both its ſides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by theſe the courſe of the water was frequently interrupted: For in ſome places it ran ſloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in other parts it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular deſcent. All the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood; and even the huge maſſes of rocks which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty foreſt trees. Whilſt the Commodore, and thoſe who were

with

with him, attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks and the wood, there came in ſight (as it were with an intent ſtill to heighten and animate the proſpect) a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, affording a moſt brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the ſun on their variegated plumage; ſo that ſome of the ſpectators cannot refrain from a kind of tranſport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary water-fall.

In this expedition, which the boat made along the eaſtern ſide of the Iſland, though they met with no inhabitants, yet they ſaw many huts upon the ſhore, and great heaps of ſhells of fine mother of pearl ſcattered up and down in different places: Theſe were the remains left by the pearl-fiſhers from *Panama*, who often frequent this place in the ſummer ſeaſon; for the pearl oyſters, which are to be met with every where in the bay of *Panama*, are ſo plenty at *Quibo*, that by advancing a very little way into the ſea, you might ſtoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are uſually very large, and out of curioſity we opened ſome of them with a view of taſting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. And having mentioned theſe oyſters and the pearl-fiſhery, I muſt beg leave to recite a few particulars relating thereto.

The

The oyſters moſt productive of pearls are thoſe found in conſiderable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near ſhore are of the ſame ſpecies, yet the pearls found in them are very rare and very ſmall. It is ſaid too, that the pearl partakes in ſome degree of the quality of the bottom on which the oyſter is found; ſo that if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill-coloured.

The taking up oyſters from great depths for the ſake of the pearls they contain, is a work performed by Negro ſlaves, of which the inhabitants of *Panama* and the neighbouring coaſt formerly kept great numbers, which were carefully trained to this buſineſs. And theſe are ſaid not to be eſteemed compleat divers, till they have by degrees been able to protract their ſtay under water ſo long, that the blood guſhes out from their noſe, mouth and ears, And it is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehenſion either that any inconvenience can attend it, the bleeding generally ſtopping of itſelf, or that there is any probability of their being ever ſubject to it a ſecond time. But to return from this digreſſion.

Though the pearl oyſter, as hath been ſaid, was incapable of being eaten, yet the ſea at this place furniſhed us with another dainty, in the greateſt plenty and perfection: This was the turtle, of which we took here what quantity we pleaſed. There are generally reckoned four ſpecies of turtle; that is, the trunk turtle, the loggerhead, the hawkſbill, and the green turtle. The two firſt are rank and unwholeſome; the hawkſbill (which furniſhes the tortois-ſhell) is but indifferent food,

though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally eſteemed, by the greateſt part of thoſe who are acquainted with its taſte, to be the moſt delicious of all eatables; and that it is a moſt wholſome food, we are amply convinced by our own experience: For we fed on this laſt ſpecies, or the green turtle, for near four months, and conſequently had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not poſſibly have eſcaped us. At this Iſland we took what quantity we pleaſed with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on ſhore to lay their eggs, which they generally depoſit in a large hole in the ſand, juſt above the high-water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the ſun, we uſually diſperſed ſeveral of our men along the beach, whoſe buſineſs it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we carried them off at our leiſure: By this means we not only ſecured a ſufficient ſtock for the time we ſtayed on the Iſland, but we took a number of them with us to ſea, which proved of great ſervice both in lengthning out our ſtore of proviſion, and in heartning the whole crew with an almoſt conſtant ſupply of freſh and palatable food; for the turtle being large, they generally weighing about 200 *lb.* weight each, thoſe we took with us laſted us near a month, and by that time we met with a freſh recruit on the coaſt of *Mexico*, where we often ſaw them in the heat of the day floating in great numbers on the ſurface of the water faſt aſleep; when we diſcovered them, we uſually ſent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dextrous diver, and when the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the

diver

diver plunged into the water, and took care to riſe cloſe upon it; and ſeizing the ſhell near the tail, and preſſing down the hinder parts, the turtle, when awakened, began to ſtrike with its claws, which motion ſupported both it and the diver, till the boat came up and took them in. By this management we never wanted turtle for the ſucceeding four months in which we continued at ſea; and though, when at *Quibo*, we had already been three months on board, without otherwiſe putting our foot on ſhore, than in the few days we ſtayed at this Iſland of *Quibo*, (except thoſe employed in the attack of *Paita*) yet in the whole ſeven months, from our leaving *Juan Fernandes* to our anchoring in the harbour of *Chequetan*, we buried no more in the whole ſquadron than two men; a moſt inconteſtable proof, that the turtle, on which we fed for the laſt four months of this term, was at leaſt innocent, if not ſomething more.

Conſidering the ſcarcity of proviſions on ſome part of the coaſt of theſe ſeas, it appears wonderful, that a ſpecies of food ſo very palatable and ſalubrious as turtle, and ſo much abounding in thoſe parts, ſhould be preſcribed by the *Spaniards* as unwholeſome, and little leſs than poiſonous. Perhaps the ſtrange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous and ſuperſtitious averſion, which is ſtrongly rooted in all the inhabitants of that coaſt, and of which we had many inſtances in the courſe of this navigation. I have already obſerved, that we put our *Spaniſh* priſoners on ſhore at *Paita*, and that the *Glouceſter* ſent theirs to *Mantua*; but as we had taken in our prizes ſome *Indian* and Negro ſlaves, we did not ſet theſe on ſhore with their maſters, but continued them

on board, as our crews were thin, to assist in navigating our ships. These poor people being possessed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were astonished at our feeding on turtle, and seemed fully persuaded that it would soon destroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even suffered in our health by a continuation of this diet, they at last got so far the better of their aversion, as to be persuaded to taste it, to which the absence of all other kinds of fresh provisions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very sparingly, that they first began to eat of it: But the relish improving upon them by degrees, they at last grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the delicious and plentiful repasts it would be always in their power to procure, when they should again return back to their country. Those who are acquainted with the manner of life of these unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of spirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greatest joy they know, and consequently the discovering a method which would always supply them with what quantity they pleased, of a food more luxurious to the palate than any their haughty Lords and Masters could indulge in, was doubtless a circumstance, which they considered as the most fortunate that could befal them.

After this digression, which the prodigious quantity of turtle on this Island of *Quibo*, and the store of it we thence took to sea, in some measure led me into, I shall now return to our own proceedings.

In three days time we had compleated our buſineſs at this place, and were extremely impatient to put to ſea, that we might arrive time enough on the coaſt of *Mexico* to intercept the *Manila* galeon. But the wind being contrary detained us a night, and the next day, when we got into the offing, (which we did through the ſame channel by which we entered) we were obliged to keep hovering about the Iſland, in hopes of getting ſight of the *Glouceſter*; who, as I have in the laſt chapter mentioned, was ſeparated from us on our firſt arrival. It was the 9th of *December*, in the morning, when we put to ſea, and continuing to the ſouthward of the Iſland, looking out for the *Glouceſter*, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, diſcerned a ſmall ſail to the northward of us, to which we gave chace, and coming up with her took her. She proved to be a bark from *Panama*, bound to *Cheripe*, an inconſiderable village on the Continent, and was called the *Jeſu Nazareno*. She had nothing on board but ſome oakum, about a tun of rock ſalt, and between 30 and 40 *l.* in ſpecie, moſt of it conſiſting of ſmall ſilver money, intended for purchaſing a cargo of proviſions at *Cheripe*.

And on occaſion of this prize I cannot but obſerve, for the uſe of future cruiſers, that had we been in want of proviſions, we had by this capture an obvious method of ſupplying ourſelves. For at *Cheripe*, whither ſhe was bound, there is a conſtant ſtore of proviſions prepared for the veſſels who go thither every week from *Panama*, the market of *Panama* being chiefly ſupplied from thence: So that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might eaſily have ſeized a large ſtore without any hazard, ſince *Cheripe* is a place of no

ſtrength. And as proviſions are the ſtaple commodity of that place and of its neighbourhood, the knowledge of this circumſtance may be of great uſe to ſuch cruiſers, as find their proviſions grow ſcant, and yet are deſirous of continuing on that coaſt as long as poſſible. But to return:

On the 12th of *December* we were at laſt relieved from the perplexity we had ſuffered, by the ſeparation of the *Glouceſter*; for on that day ſhe joined us, and informed us, that in tacking to the ſouthward, on our firſt arrival, ſhe had ſprung her foretop-maſt, which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us ſooner. And now we ſcuttled and ſunk the *Jeſu Nazareno*, the prize we took laſt; and having the greateſt impatience to get into a proper ſtation for the galeon, we ſtood all together to the weſtward, leaving the Iſland of *Quibo* (notwithſtanding all the impediments we met with) in about nine days after our firſt coming in ſight of it.

CHAP. IX.

From *Quibo* to the coaſt of *Mexico*.

ON the 12th of *December* we ſtood from *Quibo* to the weſtward, and the ſame day the Commodore delivered freſh inſtructions to the Captains of the men of war, and the commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvouſes they were to make, and the courſes they were to ſteer in caſe of a ſeparation. And firſt, they were directed to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in getting to the north-

northward of the harbour of *Acapulco*, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land, between the latitudes of 18 and 19 degrees; from thence, they were to beat up the coaſt at eight or ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore, till they came a-breaſt of Cape *Corientes*, in the latitude of 20° : 20′. When they arrived there, they were to continue cruiſing on that ſtation till the 14th of *February*; and then they were to proceed to the middle Iſland of the *Tres Marias*, in the latitude of 21° : 25′, bearing from Cape *Corientes* N. W. by N, twenty-five leagues diſtant. And if at this Iſland they did not meet the Commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then to make the beſt of their way to the Iſland of *Macao*, on the coaſt of *China*. Theſe orders being diſtributed to all the ſhips, we had little doubt of arriving ſoon upon our intended ſtation, as we expected, upon the increaſing our offing from *Quibo*, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either with tempeſtuous weather from the weſtern quarter, or with dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a ſultry air; ſo that it was the 25th of *December* before we got a ſight of the Iſland of *Cocos*, which by our reckoning was only a hundred leagues from the Continent; and we had the mortification to make ſo little way, that we did not loſe ſight of it again in five days. This Iſland we found to be in the latitude of 5° : 20′ North. It is a high hummock towards the weſtern part, which deſcends gradually, and at laſt terminates in a low point to the eaſtward. From the Iſland of *Cocos* we ſtood W. by N, and were till the 9th of *January* in running an hundred leagues more. We had at firſt

flattered ourſelves, that the uncertain weather and weſtern gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the Continent, from which, as we got more diſtant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eaſtern trade-wind: But as our hopes were ſo long baffled, and our patience quite exhauſted, we began at length to deſpair of ſucceeding in the great purpoſe we had in view, that of intercepting the *Manila* galeon; and this produced a general dejection amongſt us, as we had at firſt conſidered this project as almoſt infallible, and had indulged ourſelves in the moſt boundleſs hopes of the advantages we ſhould thence receive. However, our deſpondency was at laſt ſomewhat alleviated, by a favourable change of the wind; for, on the 9th of *January*, a gale for the firſt time ſprung up from the N.E, and on this we took the *Carmelo* in tow, as the *Glouceſter* did the *Carmin*, making all the ſail we could to improve the advantage, for we ſtill ſuſpected that it was only a temporary gale, which would not laſt long; but the next day we had the ſatisfaction to find, that the wind did not only continue in the ſame quarter, but blew with ſo much briſkneſs and ſteadineſs, that we now no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. And as we advanced a-pace towards our ſtation, our hopes began to revive, and our former deſpair by degrees gave place to more ſanguine prejudices: For though the cuſtomary ſeaſon of the arrival of the galeon at *Acapulco* was already elapſed, yet we were by this time unreaſonable enough to flatter ourſelves, that ſome accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her paſſage beyond its uſual limits.

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When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of *January*, when we were advanced to the latitude of 12°: 50′, but on that day it ſhifted to the weſtward of the North: This change we imputed to our having haled up too ſoon, though we then eſteemed ourſelves full ſeventy leagues from the coaſt, which plainly ſhows, that the trade-wind doth not take place, but at a conſiderable diſtance from the Continent. After this, the wind was not ſo favourable to us as it had been: However, we ſtill continued to advance, and, on the 26th of *January*, being then to the northward of *Acapulco*, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight we caught ſome turtle on the ſurface of the water, and ſeveral dolphins bonito's, and albicores. One day, as one of the ſail-maker's mates was fiſhing from the end of the gib-boom, he loſt his hold, and dropped into the ſea; and the ſhip, which was then going at the rate of ſix or ſeven knots, went directly over him: But as we had the *Carmelo* in tow, we inſtantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over ſeveral ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and twiſting it round his arm, they haled him into the ſhip, without his having received any other injury than a wrench in his arm, of which he ſoon recovered.

When, on the 26th of *January*, we ſtood to the eaſtward, we expected, by our reckonings, to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; but though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no ſight of it at ſun-ſet, and therefore we continued on our courſe, not doubting but we ſhould ſee it by the next morning. About ten at night we diſ-

covered a light on the larboard-bow, bearing from us N. N. E. The *Tryal*'s prize too, who was about a mile a head of us, made a ſignal at the ſame time for ſeeing a ſail; and as we had none of us any doubt but what we ſaw was a ſhip's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm perſuaſion, that it was the *Manila* galeon, which had been ſo long the ſubject of our wiſhes: And what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them inſtead of one, for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried in the top of one ſhip for a direction to her conſort. We immediately caſt off the *Carmelo* and preſſed forward with all our canvaſs, making a ſignal for the *Glouceſter* to do the ſame. Thus we chaſed the light, keeping all our hands to their reſpective quarters, under an expectation of engaging in the next half hour, as we ſometimes conceived the chace to be about a mile diſtant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns; and ſome on board us poſitively averred, that beſide the light, they could plainly diſcern her ſails. The Commodore himſelf was ſo fully perſuaded that we ſhould be ſoon along-ſide of her, that he ſent for his firſt Lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to ſee all the great guns loaded with two round-ſhot for the firſt broadſide, and after that with one round-ſhot and one grape, ſtrictly charging him, at the ſame time, not to ſuffer a gun to be fired, till he, the Commodore, ſhould give orders, which he informed the Lieutenant would not be till we arrived within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy. In this conſtant and eager attention we continued all night, always preſuming that another quarter of an hour would bring

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us up with this *Manila* ſhip, whoſe wealth, with that of her ſuppoſed conſort, we now eſtimated by round millions. But when the morning broke, and day-light came on, we were moſt ſtrangely and vexatiouſly diſappointed, by finding that the light which had occaſioned all this buſtle and expectancy, was only a fire on the ſhore. Indeed the circumſtances of this deception are ſo extraordinary as to be ſcarcely credible; for, by our run during the night, and the diſtance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we firſt diſcovered it, was above twenty-five leagues from us: And yet I believe there was no perſon on board, who doubted of its being a ſhip's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for ſeveral days afterwards; it was not a vulcano, but rather, as I ſuppoſe, ſtubble or heath ſet on fire for ſome purpoſe of agriculture.

At ſun-riſing, after this mortifying deluſion we found ourſelves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N. W. to E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. On this land we obſerved two remarkable hummocks, ſuch as are uſually called paps, which bore North from us: Theſe, a *Spaniſh* Pilot and two *Indians*, who were the only perſons amongſt us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of *Acapulco*. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coaſt; for we found theſe paps to be in the latitude of $17^{\circ}: 56'$, whereas thoſe over *Acapulco* are ſaid to be in 17 degrees only; and we afterwards found our ſuſpicions of their ſkill to be well grounded: However, they were very confident,

dent, and assured us, that the height of the mountains was itself an infallible mark of the harbour; the coast, as they pretended (though falsly) being generally low to the eastward and westward of it.

And now being in the track of the *Manila* galeon, it was a great doubt with us (as it was near the end of *January*) whether she was or was not arrived: But examining our prisoners about it, they assured us, that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of *February*; and they endeavoured to persuade us, that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was as yet at sea, it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction, when she continued longer out than ordinary. On this information, strengthened by our propensity to believe them in a matter which so pleasingly flattered our wishes, we resolved to cruise for her for some days; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast, in such a manner, that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved: However, not seeing her soon, we were at intervals inclined to suspect that she had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refresh our people, the uncertainty of our present situation gave us great uneasiness, and we were very solicitous to get some positive intelligence, which might either set us at liberty to consult our necessities, if the galeon was arrived, or might animate us to continue on our present cruise with chearfulness, if she was not. With this view the Commodore, after examining our prisoners very particularly, resolved to send a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of *Acapulco*, to see if the *Manila* ship was there or

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not, one of the *Indians* being very positive that this might be done without the boat itself being discovered. To execute this project, the barge was dispatched the 6th of *February*, with a sufficient crew and two officers, who took with them a *Spanish* Pilot, and the *Indian* who had insisted on the practicability of this measure, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the eleventh, when the officers acquainted Mr. *Anson*, that, agreeable to our suspicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the *Spanish* Pilots had at first asserted *Acapulco* to lie; that when they had satisfied themselves in this particular, they steered to the eastward, in hopes of discovering it and had coasted along shore thirty-two leagues; that in this whole range they met chiefly with sandy beaches of a great length, over which the sea broke with so much violence, that it was impossible for a boat to land; that at the end of their run they could just discover two paps at a very great distance to the eastward, which from their appearance and their latitude, they concluded to be those in the neighbourhood of *Acapulco*; but that not having a sufficient quantity of fresh water and provision for their passage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the Commodore, to acquaint him with their disappointment. On this intelligence we all made sail to the eastward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port, the Commodore resolving to send the barge a second time upon the same enterprize, when we were arrived within a moderate distance. And the next day, which was the 12th of *February*, we being by that time considerably advanced, the barge was

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again dispatched, and particular instructions given to the officers to preserve themselves from being seen from the shore. On the 13th we espied a high land to the eastward, which we first imagined to be that over the harbour of *Acapulco*; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of *Seguatenco*, where there is a small harbour, of which we shall have occasion to make more ample mention hereafter. And now, having waited six days without any news of our barge, we began to be uneasy for her safety; but, on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of *February*, she returned. The officers informed the Commodore, that they had discovered the harbour of *Acapulco*, which they esteemed to bear from us E. S. E. at least fifty leagues distant: That on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the Island that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the *Spanish* Pilot, nor the *Indian* who were with them, could give them any information where they then were; but that while they were lying upon their oars in suspence what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light upon the surface of the water, on which they instantly plied their paddles, and moving as silently as possible towards it, they found it to be in a fishing canoe, which they surprized, with three Negroes that belonged to it. It seems the Negroes at first attempted to jump overboard; and being so near the land, they would easily have swam on shore; but they were prevented by presenting a piece at them, on which they readily submitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift against

againſt the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be daſhed to pieces by the fury of the ſea: This they did to deceive thoſe who perhaps might be ſent from the town to ſearch after the canoe; for upon ſeeing ſeveral pieces of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no ſuſpicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmoſt ſtrength in pulling out to ſea, and by dawn of day had gained ſuch an offing, as rendered it impoſſible for them to be ſeen from the coaſt.

And now having gotten the three Negroes in our poſſeſſion, who were not ignorant of the tranſactions at *Acapulco*, we were ſoon ſatisfied about the moſt material points which had long kept us in ſuſpence: And on examination we found, that we were indeed diſappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galeon before her arrival at *Acapulco*; but we learnt other circumſtances which ſtill revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already loſt: For though our Negroe priſoners informed us that the galeon arrived at *Acapulco* on our 9th of *January*, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coaſt, yet they at the ſame time told us, that the galeon had delivered her cargoe, and was taking in water and proviſions for her return, and that the Viceroy of *Mexico* had by proclamation, fixed her departure from *Acapulco* to the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* This laſt news was moſt joyfully received by us, as we had no doubt but ſhe muſt certainly fall into our hands, and as it was much more eligible to ſeize her on

her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the ſpecies for which ſhe had ſold her cargoe, and which ſhe would now have on board, would be prodigiouſly more to be eſteemed by us than the cargoe itſelf; great part of which would have periſhed on our hands, and no part of it could have been diſpoſed of by us at ſo advantageous a mart as *Acapulco*.

Thus we were a ſecond time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this *Manila* ſhip, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to conſider as the moſt deſirable prize that was to be met with in any part of the globe. As all our future projects will be in ſome ſort regulated with a view to the poſſeſſion of this celebrated galeon, and as the commerce which is carried on by means of theſe veſſels between the city of *Manila* and the port of *Acapulco* is perhaps the moſt valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world, I ſhall endeavour, in the enſuing chapter, to give as diſtinct an account as I can of all the particulars relating thereto, both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in ſome degree intereſted, and as I flatter myſelf, that from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to deſcribe it with more diſtinctneſs than has hitherto been done, at leaſt in our language.

CHAP

CHAP. X.

An account of the commerce carried on between the city of *Manila* on the Iſland of *Luconia*, and the port of *Acapulco* on the Coaſt of *Mexico*.

ABOUT the end of the 15th Century and the beginning of the 16th, the diſcovery of new countries and of new branches of commerce was the reigning paſſion of ſeveral of the *European* Princes. But thoſe who engaged moſt deeply and fortunately in theſe purſuits were the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the firſt of theſe having diſcovered the immenſe and opulent Continent of *America* and its adjacent Iſlands, whilſt the other, by doubling the Cape of *Good Hope*, had opened to his fleets a paſſage to the ſouthern coaſt of *Aſia*, uſually called the *Eaſt-Indies*, and by his ſettlements in that part of the globe, became poſſeſſed of many of the manufactures, and natural productions with which it abounded, and which, for ſome ages, had been the wonder and delight of the more poliſhed and luxurious part of mankind.

In the mean time, theſe two Nations of *Spain* and *Portugal*, who were thus proſecuting the ſame views, though in different quarters of the world, grew extremely jealous of each other, and became apprehenſive of mutual encroachments. And therefore to quiet their jealouſies, and to enable them with more tranquillity to purſue the propagation of the Catholic Faith in theſe diſtant countries, (they having both of them given diſtinguiſhed

marks of their zeal for their mother church, by their butchery of innocent Pagans) Pope *Alexander* VI. granted to the *Spaniſh* Crown the property and dominion of all places, either already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Iſlands of *Azores*, leaving all the unknown countries to the eaſtward of this limit, to the induſtry and future diſquiſition of the *Portugueſe*: And this boundary being afterwards removed two hundred and fifty leagues more to the weſtward, by the agreement of both Nations, it was imagined that by this regulation all the ſeeds of future conteſts were ſuppreſſed. For the *Spaniards* preſumed, that the *Portugueſe* would be hereby prevented from meddling with their colonies in *America*: And the *Portugueſe* ſuppoſed that their *Eaſt-Indian* ſettlements, and particularly the ſpice Iſlands, which they had then newly diſcovered, were ſecured from any future attempts of the *Spaniſh* Nation.

But it ſeems the infallibility of the Holy Father had, on this occaſion, deſerted him, and for want of being more converſant in geography, he had not foreſeen that the *Spaniards*, by puſhing their diſcoveries to the Weſt, and the *Portugueſe* to the Eaſt, might at laſt meet with each other, and be again embroiled; as it actually happened within a few years afterwards. For *Frederick Magellan*, who was an officer in the King of *Portugal*'s ſervice, having received ſome diſguſt from that Court, either by the defalcation of his pay, or by having his parts, as he conceived, too cheaply conſidered, he entered into the ſervice of the King of *Spain*; and being, as it appears, a man of ability, he was very deſirous of ſignalizing his talents by ſome enterprize, which might prove extremely vexatious to his for-

mer Maſters, and might teach them to eſtimate his worth by the greatneſs of the miſchief he brought upon them, this being the moſt obvious and natural turn of all fugitives, and more eſpecially of thoſe, who, being really men of capacity, have quitted their country by reaſon of the ſmall account that has been made of them. *Magellan*, in purſuance of theſe vindictive views, knowing that the *Portugueſe* Court conſidered their poſſeſſion of the ſpice Iſlands as their moſt important acquiſition in the *Eaſt-Indies*, reſolved with himſelf to inſtigate the Court of *Spain* to an enterprize, which, by ſtill puſhing their diſcoveries, would give them a right to interfere both in the property and commerce of thoſe renowned *Portugueſe* ſettlements; and the King of *Spain* approving of this project, *Magellan*, in the year 1519, ſet ſail from the port of *Sevil*, in order to carry this enterprize into execution. He had with him a conſiderable force, conſiſting of five ſhips and two hundred and thirty-four men, with which he ſtood for the coaſt of South *America*, and ranging along ſhore, he at laſt, towards the end of *October*, 1520, had the good fortune to diſcover thoſe Streights, which have ſince been denominated from him, and which opened him a paſſage into the *Pacific* Ocean. And this firſt part of his ſcheme being thus happily accompliſhed, he, after ſome ſtay on the coaſt of *Peru*, ſet ſail again to the weſtward, with a view of falling in with the ſpice Iſlands. In this extenſive run he firſt diſcovered the *Ladrones* or *Marian* Iſlands; and continuing on his courſe, he at length reached the *Philippine* Iſlands, which are the moſt eaſtern part of *Aſia*, where, venturing on ſhore in an hoſtile manner, and ſkirmiſhing with the *Indians*, he was ſlain.

By the death of *Magellan*, the original project of securing some of the spice islands was defeated; for those who were left in command contented themselves with ranging through them, and purchasing some spices from the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of *Good Hope*, being the first ships which had ever surrounded this terraqueous globe; and thereby demonstrated, by a palpable experiment obvious to the grossest and most vulgar capacity, the reality of its long disputed spherical figure.

But though *Spain* did not hereby acquire the property of any of the spice Islands, yet the discovery made in this expedition of the *Philippine* Islands, was thought too considerable to be neglected; for these were not far distant from those places which produced spices, and were very well situated for the *Chinese* trade, and for the commerce of other parts of *India*; and therefore a communication was soon established, and carefully supported between these Islands and the *Spanish* colonies on the coast of *Peru*: So that the city of *Manila*, (which was built on the Island of *Luconia*, the chief of the *Philippines*) soon become the mart for all *Indian* commodities, which were brought up by the inhabitants, and were annually sent to the *South-Seas* to be there vended on their account; and the returns of this commerce to *Manila* being principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent and considerable, and its trade so far encreased, as to engage the attention of the Court of *Spain*, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of *Callao* to the city of *Manila*, in

which voyage the trade-wind continually favoured them; ſo that notwithſtanding theſe places were diſtant between three and four thouſand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months: But then the return from *Manila* was extremely troubleſome and tedious, and is ſaid to have ſometimes taken them up above a twelve month, which, if they pretended to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at; and it is aſſerted, that in their firſt voyages they were ſo imprudent and unſkilful as to attempt this courſe. However, that rout was ſoon laid aſide, by the advice, as it is ſaid, of a Jeſuit, who perſuaded them to ſteer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then by the favour of the weſterly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to ſtretch away for the coaſt of *California*. This has been the practice for at leaſt a hundred and ſixty years paſt: For Sir *Thomas Cavendiſh*, in the year 1586, engaged off the South end of *California* a veſſel bound from *Manila* to the *American* coaſt. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to ſhorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the ſtaple of this commerce to and from *Manila* was removed from *Callao* on the coaſt of *Peru*, to the port of *Acapulco* on the coaſt of *Mexico*, where it continues fixed at this time.

Such was the commencement, and ſuch were the early regulations of this commerce; but its preſent condition being a much more intereſting ſubject, I muſt beg leave to dwell longer on this head and to be indulged in a more particular narration, beginning with a deſcription of the Iſland of *Luconia*, and of the port and bay of *Manila*.

The Iſland of *Luconia*, though ſituated in the latitude of 15° North, is eſteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water, that is found upon it, is ſaid to be the beſt in the world: It produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a moſt excellent breed of horſes, ſuppoſed to be carried thither firſt from *Spain*: It is very well ſituated for the *Indian* and *Chineſe* trade; and the bay and port of *Manila*, which lies on its weſtern ſide, is perhaps the moſt remakable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular baſon, near ten leagues in diameter, and great part of it entirely land-locked. On the eaſt ſide of this bay ſtands the city of *Manila*, which is very large and populous; and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence conſiſting in a ſmall fort, which was in great meaſure ſurrounded on every ſide by houſes; but they have lately made conſiderable additions to its fortifications, though I have not yet learnt in what manner. The port, peculiar to the city, is called *Cabite*, and lies near two leagues to the ſouthward; and in this port all the ſhips employed in the *Acapulco* trade are uſually ſtationed. As I have never ſeen but one engraven plan of this bay, and that in a very ſcarce book, I have added in the thirty-third plate, a plan which fell into my hands, and which differs conſiderably from that already publiſhed: But I cannot pretend to decide which of the two is moſt to be relied on.

The city of *Manila* itſelf is in a very healthy ſituation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country; but as the principal buſineſs of this place is its trade to *Acapulco*, it lies under ſome diſadvantage, from

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the difficulty there is in getting to ſea to the eaſtward: For the paſſage is among iſlands and through channels where the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſs in marine affairs, waſte much time, and are often in great danger. Theſe difficulties will be better apprehended by the reader by the draught of the Iſland of *Luconia*, and of its neighbouring iſles, (Plate XXVIth,) which was taken from the enemy, and had been newly drawn and corrected but a ſhort time before.

The trade carried on from this place to *China* and different parts of *India*, is principally for ſuch commodities as are intended to ſupply the Kingdoms of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Theſe are ſpices, all ſorts of *Chineſe* ſilks and manufactures; particularly ſilk ſtockings, of which I have heard that no leſs than fifty thouſand pair were the uſual number ſhipped on board the annual ſhip; vaſt quantities of *Indian* ſtuffs, as callicoes and chints, which are much worn in *America*, together with other minuter articles, as goldſmiths work, *&c.* which is principally done at the city of *Manila* itſelf by the *Chineſe*; for it is ſaid there are at leaſt twenty thouſand *Chineſe* who conſtantly reſide there, either as ſervants, manufacturers, or brokers. All theſe different commodities are collected at *Manila*, thence to be tranſported annually in one or more ſhips, to the port of *Acapulco*, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*.

But this trade to *Acapulco* is not laid open to all the inhabitants of *Manila*, but is confined by very particular regulations, ſomewhat analagous to thoſe by which the trade of the regiſter-ſhips from *Cadiz* to the *Weſt-Indies* is reſtrained. The ſhips employed herein are found by the King of *Spain*, who

pays the officers and crew; and the tunnage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the ſame ſize: Theſe are diſtributed amongſt the Convents at *Manila*, but principally to the Jeſuits, as a donation for the ſupport of their miſſion for the propagation of the Catholic Faith; and theſe Convents have hereby a right to embark ſuch a quantity of goods on board the *Manila* ſhip, as the tunnage of their bales amounts to; or if they chuſe not to be concerned in trade themſelves, they have the power of ſelling this privilege to others; and as the Merchants to whom they grant their ſhares are often unprovided of a ſtock, it is uſual for the Convents to lend them conſiderable ſums of money on bottomry.

The trade is by the royal edicts limited to a certain value, which the annual cargoe ought not to exceed. Some *Spaniſh* manuſcripts, I have ſeen, mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargoe does certainly ſurpaſs this ſum; and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet from many compariſons I conclude, that the return cannot be greatly ſhort of three millions of dollars.

It is ſufficiently obvious, that the greateſt part of the treaſure, returned from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, does not remain in that place, but is again diſperſed into different parts of *India*. And as all *European* Nations have generally eſteemed it good policy to keep their *American* ſettlements in an immediate dependence on their mother-country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other Powers, theſe conſiderations have occaſioned many remonſtrances to be preſented to the Court of *Spain* againſt the *Indian* trade, hereby

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allowed to the Kingdom of *Peru* and *Mexico*; it having been urged, that the ſilk manufactures of *Valencia* and other parts of *Spain* are hereby greatly prejudiced, and the linnens carried from *Cadiz* are much injured in their ſale: Since the *Chineſe* ſilks coming almoſt directly to *Acapulco*, can be afforded much cheaper there than any *European* manufactures of equal goodneſs; and the cottons from the *Coromondel* coaſt, make the *European* linnens almoſt uſeleſs. So that the *Manila* trade renders both *Mexico* and *Peru* leſs dependent upon *Spain* for a ſupply of their neceſſities than they ought to be; and exhauſts thoſe countries of a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, the greateſt part of which, were this trade prohibited, would center in *Spain*, either in payment for *Spaniſh* commodities, or in gains to the *Spaniſh* Merchant; whereas now the only advantage which ariſes from it is, the enriching the Jeſuits and a few particular perſons beſides, at the other extremity of the world. Theſe arguments did ſo far influence Don *Joſeph Patinho*, who was then Prime Miniſter, but an enemy to the Jeſuits, that about the year 1725, he had reſolved to aboliſh this trade, and to have permitted no *Indian* commodities to be introduced into any of the *Spaniſh* ports of the *Weſt-Indies*, but what were carried there in the regiſter ſhips from *Europe*. But the powerful intrigues of the Jeſuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from *Manila* to *Acapulco* and back again, is uſually carried on in one or at moſt two annual ſhips, which ſet ſail from *Manila* about *July*, and arrive at *Acapulco* in the *December*, *January*, or *February* following, and having there diſpoſed of their effects, return for *Manila* ſometime

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in *March*, where they generally arrive in *June*; ſo that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year: For this reaſon, though there is often no more than one ſhip employed at a time, yet there is always one ready for the ſea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at *Manila* are provided with three or four ſtout ſhips, that, in caſe of any accident, the trade may not be ſuſpended. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, whoſe name I have not learnt, is deſcribed as little leſs than one of our firſt rate men of war, and indeed ſhe muſt be of an enormous ſize; for it is known, that when ſhe was employed with other ſhips from the ſame port, to cruiſe for our *China* trade, ſhe had no leſs than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ſhips, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet ſtout large veſſels, of the burthen of twelve hundred tun and upwards, and uſually carry from three hundred and fifty to ſix hundred hands, paſſengers included, with fifty odd guns. As theſe are all King's ſhips, commiſſioned and paid by him, there is uſually one of the Captains, who is ſtiled the General, and who carries the royal ſtandard of *Spain* at the main-top gallant maſt-head, as we ſhall more particularly obſerve hereafter.

And now, having deſcribed the port of *Manila* and the ſhipping they employ, it is neceſſary to give a more circumſtantial detail of their navigation. The ſhip having received her cargoe on board, and being fitted for the ſea, generally weighs from the mole of *Cabite* about the middle of *July*, taking the advantage of the weſterly monſoon, which then ſets in, to carry them to ſea. It appears by the chart already referred to, that the getting

getting through the *Boccadero* to the eaſtward muſt be a troubleſome navigation, and in fact, it is ſometimes the end of *Auguſt* before they get clear of the land. When they have got through this paſſage, and are clear of the Iſlands, they ſtand to the northward of the eaſt, in order to get into the latitude of 30 odd degrees, where they expect to meet with weſterly winds, before which they run away for the coaſt of *California*. To give a better idea of the track which they hold in this navigation, I have inſerted, towards the latter end of the third book, the copy of a manuſcript chart, which was taken on board one of theſe ſhips, containing all that Ocean between the *Philippine* Iſlands and the coaſt of *Mexico*, in which I have laid down the particular route of this veſſel, both in her paſſage from *Manila* to *Acapulco*, and from *Acapulco* back again. In this chart (as it was drawn for the uſe of the *Spaniſh* General) there are contained all the diſcoveries which the *Manila* ſhips have at any time made in traverſing this vaſt Ocean; whence it appears what minute and inconſiderable fragments of land are diſperſed in that prodigious ſea; and it is moſt remarkable, that by the concurrent teſtimony of all the *Spaniſh* Navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road as yet found out betwixt the *Philippine* Iſlands and the coaſt of *California*, and *Mexico*; ſo that from the time the *Manila* ſhip firſt loſes ſight of land, ſhe never lets go her anchor till ſhe arrives on the coaſt of *California*, and very often not till ſhe gets to its ſouthermoſt extremity: And therefore as this voyage is rarely of leſs than ſix months continuance, and the ſhip is deep laden with merchandize and crowded with people, it may appear

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wonderful how they can be ſupplied with a ſtock of freſh water for ſo long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it is extremely ſingular, and deſerves a very particular recital.

It is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with the *Spaniſh* cuſtoms in the *South-Seas*, that their water is preſerved on ſhip-board, not in caſks, but in earthen jars, which in ſome ſort reſemble the large oil jars we often ſee in *Europe*. When the *Manila* ſhip firſt puts to ſea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be ſtowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung all about the ſhrouds and ſtays, ſo as to exhibit at a diſtance a very odd appearance. And though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than caſks, and are liable to no leakage, unleſs they are broken yet it is ſufficiently obvious, that a ſixth, or even a three months ſtore of water could never be ſtowed in a ſhip ſo loaded, by any management whatſoever; and therefore, without ſome other ſupply, this navigation could not be performed: A ſupply indeed they have, but the reliance upon it ſeems at firſt ſight ſo extremely precarious, that it is wonderful ſuch numbers ſhould riſque the periſhing by the moſt dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of ſo caſual a circumſtance. In ſhort, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40° North, and which they are always prepared to catch: For this purpoſe they take to ſea with them a great number of mats, which they place ſlopingly againſt the gunwale, whenever the rain deſcends; theſe mats extend from one end of the ſhip to the other, and their lower edges reſt

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on a large ſplit bamboe, ſo that all the water which falls on the mats drain into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of ſupplying their water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at firſt ſight appear, hath never been known to fail them, ſo that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than uſual, to fill all their water jars ſeveral times over.

However, though their diſtreſſes for freſh water are much ſhort of what might be expected in ſo tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniencies generally attendant upon a long continuance at ſea, from which they are not exempted. The principal of theſe is the ſcurvy, which ſometimes rages with extreme violence, and deſtroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their paſſage to *Acapulco* (of which alone I would be here underſtood to ſpeak) is performed with little loſs.

The length of time employed in this paſſage, ſo much beyond what uſually occurs in any other navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unſkilfulneſs of the *Spaniſh* ſailors, and to an unneceſſary degree of caution and concern for ſo rich a veſſel: For it is ſaid, that they never ſet their main ſail in the night, and often lie by unneceſſarily. And indeed the inſtructions given to their Captains (which I have ſeen) ſeem to have been drawn up by ſuch as were more apprehenſive of too ſtrong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies and mortality attending a lingring and tedious voyage; for the Captain is particularly ordered to make his paſſage in the latude of 30 degrees if poſſible, and to be extremely

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careful to ſtand no farther to the northward than is abſolutely neceſſary for the getting a weſterly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very abſurd reſtriction; ſince it can ſcarcely be doubted, but that in the higher latitudes the weſterly winds are much ſteadier and briſker than in the latitude of 30 degrees: So that the whole conduct of this navigation ſeems liable to very great cenſure. For if inſtead of ſteering E. N. E. into the latitude of 30 odd degrees, they at firſt ſtood N. E, or even ſtill more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 degrees, in part of which courſe the trade-winds would greatly aſſiſt them, I doubt not but by this management they might conſiderably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time, which is now allotted for it; for in the journals I have ſeen of theſe voyages it appears, that they are often a month or ſix weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly courſe, it might eaſily be done in a fourth part of the time; and when they were once well advanced to the northward, the weſterly winds would ſoon blow them over to the coaſt of *California*, and they would be thereby freed from the other embaraſments, to which they are now ſubjected, only at the expence of a rough ſea and a ſtiff gale. And this is not merely matter of ſpeculation; for I am credibly informed, that about the year 1721, a *French* ſhip, by purſuing this courſe, ran from the coaſt of *China* to the valley of *Vanderas* on the coaſt of *Mexico*, in leſs than fifty days: But it was ſaid that this ſhip, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of her paſſage, ſuffered prodi-

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giouſly by the ſcurvy, ſo that ſhe had only four or five of her crew left when ſhe arrived in *America*.

However, I ſhall deſcant no longer on the probability of performing this voyage in a much ſhorter time, but ſhall content myſelf with reciting the actual occurrences of the preſent navigation. The *Manila* ſhip having ſtood ſo far to the northward as to meet with a weſterly wind, ſtretches away nearly in the ſame latitude for the coaſt of *California*: And when ſhe has run into the longitude of 96 degrees from Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, ſhe generally meets with a plant floating on the ſea, which, being called *Porra* by the *Spaniards*, is, I preſume, a ſpecies of ſea-leek. On the ſight of this plant they eſteem themſelves ſufficiently near the *Californian* ſhore, and immediately ſtand to the ſouthward; and they rely ſo much on this circumſtance, that on the firſt diſcovery of the plant the whole ſhip's company chaunt a ſolemn *Te Deum*, eſteeming the difficulties and hazards of their paſſage to be now at an end; and they conſtantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within ſight of land. After falling in with theſe SIGNS, as they denominate them, they ſteer to the ſouthward, without endeavouring to fall in with the coaſt, till they have run into a lower latitude; for as there are many iſlands, and ſome ſhoals adjacent to *California*, the extreme caution of the *Spaniſh* Navigators makes them very apprehenſive of being engaged with the land; however, when they draw near its ſouthern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the ſake of making Cape St. *Lucas* to aſcertain their reckoning, and alſo to receive intelligence from the *Indian* inhabitants, whether or no there are any enemies on the coaſt; and this laſt

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circumſtance, which is a particular article in the Captain's inſtructions, makes it neceſſary to mention the late proceedings of the Jeſuits amongſt the *Californian Indians*.

Since the firſt diſcovery of *California*, there have been various wandring Miſſionaries who have viſited it at different times, though to little purpoſe; but of late years the Jeſuits, encouraged and ſupported by a large donation from the Marquis *de Valero*, a moſt munificent bigot, have fixed themſelves upon the place, and have eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable miſſion. Their principal ſettlement lies juſt within Cape St. *Lucas*, where they have collected a great number of ſavages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture and other mechanic arts: And their efforts have not been altogether ineffectual; for they have planted vines at their ſettlements with very good ſucceſs, ſo that they already make a conſiderable quantity of wine, reſembling in flavour the inferior ſort of *Madera*, which begins to be eſteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of *Mexico*.

The Jeſuits then being thus firmly rooted on *California*, they have already extended their juriſdiction quite acroſs the country from ſea to ſea, and are endeavouring to ſpread their influence farther to the northward; with which view they have made ſeveral expeditions up the gulf between *California* and *Mexico*, in order to diſcover the nature of the adjacent countries, all which they hope hereafter to bring under their power. And being thus occupied in advancing the intereſts of their ſociety, it is no wonder if ſome ſhare of attention is engaged about the ſecurity of the *Manila* ſhip, in which their Convents at *Manila* are ſo deeply concerned.

cerned. For this purpoſe there are refreſhments, as fruits, wine, water, *&c.* conſtantly kept in readineſs for her; and there is beſides care taken at Cape St. *Lucas*, to look out for any ſhip of the enemy, which might be cruiſing there to intercept her; this being a ſtation where ſhe is conſtantly expected, and where ſhe has been often waited for and fought with, though generally with little ſucceſs. In conſequence then of the meaſures mutually ſettled between the Jeſuits of *Manila* and their brethren at *California*, the Captain of the galeon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St. *Lucas*, where the inhabitants are directed, on ſight of the veſſel, to make the proper ſignals with fires; and on diſcovering theſe fires, the Captain is to ſend his launch on ſhore with twenty men, well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the Convents at *Manila* to the *Californian* Miſſionaries, and are to bring back the refreſhments which will be prepared for them, and likewiſe intelligence whether or no there are any enemies on the coaſt. And if the Captain finds, from the account which is ſent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St. *Lucas*, and thence to Cape *Corientes*, after which he is to coaſt it along for the port of *Acapulco*.

The moſt uſual time of the arrival of the galeon at *Acapulco* is towards the middle of *January*: But this navigation is ſo uncertain, that ſhe ſometimes gets in a month ſooner, and at other times has been detained at ſea above a month longer. The port of *Acapulco* is by much the ſecureſt and fineſt in all the northern parts of the *Pacific* Ocean; being, as it were, a baſon ſurrounded by very high mountains: But the town is a moſt wretched place, and

extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is ſo pent up by the hills, that it has ſcarcely any circulation. The place is beſides deſtitute of freſh water, except what is brought from a conſiderable diſtance; and is in all reſpects ſo inconvenient, that except at the time of the mart, whilſt the *Manila* galeon is in the port, it is almoſt deſerted. To compenſate in ſome meaſure for the ſhortneſs of this deſcription, I have inſerted, in the ſame plate with the bay of *Manila* above-mentioned, a plan of this place and of its port and citadel, in which are likewiſe drawn the new works which were added on their firſt intelligence of the equipment of our ſquadron. As this plan was taken from the *Spaniards*, I cannot anſwer for its accuracy; but having ſeen two or three other *Spaniſh* draughts of the place; I conceive, by comparing them together, that this I have here referred to is not very diſtant from the truth.

When the galeon arrives in this port, ſhe is generally moored on its weſtern ſide to the two trees marked in the plan, and her cargoe is delivered with all poſſible expedition. And now the town of *Acapulco*, from almoſt a ſolitude, is immediately thronged with Merchants from all parts of the kingdom of *Mexico*. The cargoe being landed and diſpoſed of, the ſilver and the goods intended for *Manila* are taken on board, together with proviſions and water, and the ſhip prepares to put to ſea with the utmoſt expedition. There is indeed no time to be loſt; for it is an expreſs order to the Captain to be out of the port of *Acapulco* on his return, before the firſt day of *April*, *N. S.*

And having mentioned the goods intended for *Manila*, I muſt obſerve, that the principal return is always

always made in silver, and consequently the rest of the cargoe is but of little account; the other articles, besides the silver, being some cochineal and a few sweet-meats, the produce of the *American* settlements, together with *European* millinery ware for the women at *Manila*, and some *Spanish* wines, such as tent and sherry, which are intended for the use of their Priests in the administration of the Sacrament.

And this difference in the cargoe of the ship to and from *Manila*, occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping the ship for these two different voyages. For the galeon, when she sets sail from *Manila*, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, she has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tire of guns, but carries them in her hold, till she draws near Cape St. *Lucas*, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands too are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship, that she may be less pestered with the stowage of provisions. But on her return from *Acapulco*, as her cargoe lies in less room, her lower tire is (or ought to be) always mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at *Manila*. And there being besides many Merchants who take their passage to *Manila* on board the galeon, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of six hundred, all which are easily provided for, by reason of the small stowage necessary for the silver.

The galeon being thus fitted for her return, the Captain, on leaving the port of *Acapulco*, steers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and runs on that parallel,

rallel, till he gets ſight of the Iſland of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*. In this run the Captain is particularly directed to be careful of the ſhoals of St. *Bartholomew*, and of the Iſland of *Gaſparico*. He is alſo told in his inſtructions, that to prevent his paſſing the *Ladrones* in the dark, there are orders given that, through all the month of *June*, fires ſhall be lighted every night on the higheſt part of *Guam* and *Rota*, and kept in till the morning.

At *Guam* there is a ſmall *Spaniſh* garriſon, (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purpoſely intended to ſecure that place for the refreſhment of the galeon, and to yield her all the aſſiſtance in their power. However, the danger of the road at *Guam* is ſo great, that though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet ſhe rarely ſtays above a day or two, but getting her water and refreſhments on board as ſoon as poſſible, ſhe ſteers away directly for Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*. Here the Captain is again ordered to look out for ſignals; and he is told, that centinels will be poſted not only on that Cape, but likewiſe in *Catanduanas*, *Butuſan*, *Birriborongo*, and on the Iſland of *Batan*. Theſe centinels are inſtructed to make a fire when they diſcover the ſhip, which the Captain is carefully to obſerve: For if, after this firſt fire is extinguiſhed, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coaſt; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to ſpeak with the centinel on ſhore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the ſtation they cruiſe in; purſuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain ſome ſecure port amongſt thoſe Iſlands, without coming in ſight of

the enemy; and in caſe he ſhould be diſcovered when in port, and ſhould be apprehenſive of an attack, he is then to land his treaſure, and to take ſome of his artillery on ſhore for its defence, not neglecting to ſend frequent and particular accounts to the city of *Manila* of all that paſſes. But if, after the firſt fire on ſhore, the Captain obſerves that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude, that there is nothing to fear: And he is to purſue his courſe without interruption, and to make the beſt of his way to the port of *Cabite*, which is the port to the city of *Manila*, and the conſtant ſtation for all the ſhips employed in this commerce to *Acapulco*.

CHAP. XI.

Our cruiſe off the port of *Acapulco* for the *Manila* ſhip.

I HAVE already mentioned, in the ninth chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of *Acapulco*, where ſhe had ſurprized three Negro fiſhermen, gave us inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, as we learnt from our priſoners, that the galeon was then preparing to put to ſea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the Viceroy of *Mexico*, to the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* that is, to the 3d of *March*, according to our reckoning.

What related to this *Manila* ſhip being the matter to which we were moſt attentive, it was neceſſarily the firſt article of our examination; but

having ſatisfied ourſelves upon this head, we then indulged our curioſity in enquiring after other news; when the priſoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at *Acapulco*, of our having plundered and burnt the town of *Paita*; and that, on this occaſion, the Governor of *Acapulco* had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken ſeveral precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that in particular, he had placed a guard on the Iſland which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge: So that had the barge ſucceeded in her firſt attempt, or had ſhe arrived at the port the ſecond time two days ſooner, ſhe could ſcarcely have avoided being ſeized on, or if ſhe had eſcaped, it muſt have been with the loſs of the greateſt part of her crew, as ſhe would have been under the fire of the guard, before ſhe had known her danger.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumſtance that greatly encouraged us, as it ſeemed to demonſtrate, not only that the enemy had not as yet diſcovered us, but likewiſe that they had now no farther apprehenſions of our viſiting their coaſt. Indeed the priſoners aſſured us, that they had no knowledge of our being in thoſe ſeas, and that they had therefore flattered themſelves, that, in the long interval ſince our taking of *Paita*, we had ſteered another courſe. But we did not conſider the opinion of theſe Negro priſoners as ſo authentick a proof of our being hitherto concealed, as the withdrawing of the guard from the harbour's mouth; for this being the action of the Governor, was of all arguments the moſt convincing, as he might be ſup-

uppoſed to have intelligence, with which the reſt of the inhabitants were unacquainted.

Satisfied therefore that we were undiſcovered, and that the time was fixed for the departure of the galeon from *Acapulco*, we made all neceſſary preparations, and waited with the utmoſt impatience for the important day. As this was the 3d of *March*, and it was the 19th of *February* when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, the Commodore reſolved to continue the greateſt part of the intermediate time on his preſent ſtation, to the weſtward of *Acapulco*, conceiving that in this ſituation there would be leſs danger of his being ſeen from the ſhore, which was the only circumſtance that could deprive us of the immenſe treaſure, on which we had at preſent ſo eagerly fixed our thoughts. During this interval, we were employed in ſcrubbing and cleanſing our ſhips bottoms, in bringing them into their moſt advantageous trim, and in regulating the orders, ſignals and ſtations to be obſerved, when we ſhould arrive off *Acapulco*, and the time of the departure of the galeon ſhould draw nigh.

And now, on the firſt of *March*, we made the high lands, uſually called the paps over *Acapulco*, and got with all poſſible expedition into the ſituation preſcribed by the Commodore's orders. The diſtribution of our ſquadron on this occaſion, both for the intercepting the galeon, and for the avoiding a diſcovery from the ſhore, was ſo very judicious, that it well merits to be diſtinctly deſcribed. The order of it was thus:

The *Centurion* brought the paps over the harbour to bear N. N. E, at fifteen leagues diſtance, which was a ſufficient offing to prevent our being ſeen by

the enemy. To the weſtward of the *Centurion* there was ſtationed the *Carmelo*, and to the eaſtward were the *Tryal* Prize, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Carmin*: Theſe were all ranged in a circular line, and each ſhip was three leagues diſtant from the next; ſo that the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin*, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues diſtant from each other: And as the galeon could, without doubt, be diſcerned at ſix leagues diſtance from either extremity, the whole ſweep of our ſquadron, within which nothing could paſs undiſcovered, was at leaſt twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were ſo connected by our ſignals, as to be eaſily and ſpeedily informed of what was ſeen in any part of the line: And to render this diſpoſition ſtill more compleat, and to prevent even the poſſibility of the galeon's eſcaping us in the night, the two Cutters belonging to the *Centurion* and the *Glouceſter* were both manned and ſent in ſhore, and were ordered to lie all day at the diſtance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs, they could not poſſibly be diſcovered; but in the night they were directed to ſtand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and as the light of the morning came on, they were to return back again to their day-poſts. When the Cutters ſhould firſt diſcover the *Manila* ſhip, one of them was ordered to return to the ſquadron, and to make a ſignal, whether the galeon ſtood to the eaſtward or to the weſtward; whilſt the other was to follow the galeon at a diſtance, and if it grew dark, was to direct the ſquadron in their chace, by ſhewing falſe fires. The particular ſituation of each ſhip and of the Cutters, and the bearings from each other, which they were

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to obſerve in order to keep their ſtations, will be better underſtood by the delineation exhibited in the twenty-ſeventh plate ; a draught of which was delivered to each of the Commanders at the ſame time with their orders.

Beſides the care we had taken to prevent the galeon from paſſing by us unobſerved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage, when we came up with her : For conſidering the thinneſs of our hands, and the vaunting accounts given by the *Spaniards* of her ſize, her guns, and her ſtrength, this was a conſideration not to be neglected. As we ſuppoſed that none of our ſhips but the *Centurion* and the *Glouceſter* were capable of lying along ſide of her, we took on board the *Centurion* all the hands belonging to the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin*, except what were juſt ſufficient to navigate thoſe ſhips ; and Captain *Saunders* was ordered to ſend from the *Tryal* Prize ten *Engliſhmen*, and as many Negroes, to reinforce the crew of the *Glouceſter :* And for the encouragement of our Negroes, of which we had a conſiderable number on board, we promiſed them, that on their good behaviour they ſhould all have their freedom ; and as they had been almoſt every day trained to the management of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of ſervice to us; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the uſage they had met with amongſt us, they ſeemed diſpoſed to exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their power.

And now being thus prepared for the reception of the galeon, we expected, with the utmoſt impatience, the ſo often mentioned third of *March*, the day fixed for her departure. And on that day

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we were all of us moſt eagerly engaged in looking out towards *Acapulco*; and we were ſo ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an aſſurance of her coming out of port, that ſome or other on board us were conſtantly imagining that they diſcovered one of our Cutters returning with a ſignal. But to our extreme vexation, both this day and the ſucceeding night paſſed over, without any news of the galeon: However, we did not yet deſpair, but were all heartily diſpoſed to flatter ourſelves, that ſome unforeſeen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and ſuggeſtions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the Viceroy for her ſailing, was often prolonged on the petition of the Merchants of *Mexico*. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of *March* was *Sunday* the beginning of Paſſion week, which is obſerved by the Papiſts with great ſtrictneſs, and a total ceſſation from all kinds of labour, ſo that no ſhip is permitted to ſtir our of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehenſions for ſome days, and diſpoſed us not to expect the galeon till the week following. On the *Friday* in this week our Cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them were very confident that the galeon was ſtill in port, for that ſhe could not poſſibly have come out but they muſt have ſeen her. On the *Monday* morning ſucceeding paſſion week, that is, on the 15th of *March*, the Cutters were again diſpatched to their old ſtation, and our hopes were once more indulged in as ſanguine prepoſſeſſions as before; but in a week's time our eagerneſs was greatly abated, and a general dejection and deſpondency

dency took place in its room. It is true, there were ſome few amongſt us who ſtill kept up their ſpirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reaſons to ſatisfy themſelves, that the diſappointment we had hitherto met with had only been occaſioned by a caſual delay of the galeon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total ſuſpenſion of her departure for the whole ſeaſon: But theſe ſpeculations were not reliſhed by the generality of our people; for they were perſuaded that the enemy had, by ſome accident, diſcovered our being upon the coaſt, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galeon till the next year. And indeed this perſuaſion was but too well founded; for we afterwards learnt, that our barge, when ſent on the diſcovery of the port of *Acapulco*, had been ſeen from the ſhore; and that this circumſtance (no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coaſt) was to them a ſufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our ſquadron; on which, they ſtopped the galeon till the ſucceeding year.

The Commodore himſelf, though he declared not his opinion, was yet in his own thoughts very apprehenſive that we were diſcovered, and that the departure of the galeon was put off; and he had, in conſequence of this opinion, formed a plan for poſſeſſing himſelf of *Acapulco*; for he had no doubt but the treaſure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for the diſpatching of the galeon were countermanded. Indeed the place was too well defended to be carried by an open attempt; for beſides the garriſon and the crew of the galeon, there were in it at leaſt a thouſand men well armed, who had marched thither as guards to the treaſure, when it was brought down from the city of *Mexi-*

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co: For the roads thereabouts are ſo much infeſted either by independent *Indians* or fugitives, that the *Spaniards* never truſt the ſilver without an armed force to protect it. And beſides, had the ſtrength of the place been leſs conſiderable, and ſuch as might have appeared not ſuperior to the efforts of our ſquadron, yet a declared attack would have prevented us from receiving any advantages from its ſucceſs; ſince upon the firſt diſcovery of our ſquadron, all the treaſure would have been ordered into the country, and in a few hours would have been out of our reach; ſo that our conqueſt would have been only a deſolate town, where we ſhould have found nothing that could have been of the leaſt conſequence to us.

For theſe reaſons, the ſurpriſal of the place was the only method that could at all anſwer our purpoſe; and therefore the manner in which Mr. *Anſon* propoſed to conduct this enterprize was, by ſetting ſail with the ſquadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night; and as there is no danger on that coaſt, he would have ſtood boldly for the harbour's mouth, where he expected to arrive, and might perhaps have entered it, before the *Spaniards* were acquainted with his deſigns: Aſſoon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have puſht two hundred of his men on ſhore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort markt (C) in the plan mentioned in the preceding chapter; whilſt he, the Commodore, with his ſhips, was employed in firing upon the town, and the other batteries. And theſe different operations which would have been executed with great regularity, could hardly have failed of ſucceeding againſt an enemy, who would have been

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prevented by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and by the want of day-light, from concerting any meaſures for their defence; ſo that it was extremely probable that we ſhould have carried the fort by ſtorm; and then the other batteries, being open behind, muſt have been ſoon abandoned; after which, the town, and its inhabitants, and all the treaſure, muſt neceſſarily have fallen into our hands; for the place is ſo cooped up with mountains, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to eſcape out of it, but by the great road, markt (H. H.) in the plan, which paſſes under the fort. This was the project which the Commodore had ſettled in general in his thoughts; but when he began to inquire into ſuch circumſtances as were neceſſary to be conſidered in order to regulate the particulars of its execution, he found there was a difficulty, which, being inſuperable, occaſioned the enterprize to be laid aſide: For on examining the priſoners about the winds which prevail near the ſhore, he learnt (and it was afterwards confirmed by the officers of our cutters) that nearer in ſhore there was always a dead calm for the greateſt part of the night, and that towards morning, when a gale ſprung up, it conſtantly blew off the land; ſo that the ſetting ſail from our preſent ſtation in the evening, and arriving at *Acapulco* before day-light, was impoſſible.

This ſcheme, as hath been ſaid, was formed by the Commodore, upon a ſuppoſition that the galeon was detained till the next year: But as this was a matter of opinion only, and not founded on intelligence, and there was a poſſibility that ſhe might ſtill put to ſea in a ſhort time, the Commodore thought it prudent to continue his cruiſe upon this ſtation, as long as the neceſſary attention to his

ſtores

ſtores of wood and water, and to the convenient ſeaſon for his future paſſage to *China*, would give him leave; and therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before *Acapulco* till the 23d of *March*, the ſquadron did not change its poſition till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in ſome pain for them, apprehending they might have ſuffered either from the enemy or the weather; be we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we diſcovered them, though at a great diſtance and to the leeward of the ſquadron: We bore down to them and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their ſtation the day before, without having ſeen any thing of the galeon; and we found, that the reaſon of their being ſo far to the leeward of us was a ſtrong current, which had driven the whole ſquadron to windward.

And here it is neceſſary to mention, that, by information which was afterwards received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruiſe was a very prudent meaſure, and afforded us no contemptible chance of ſeizing the treaſure, on which we had ſo long fixed our thoughts. For it ſeems, after the embargo was laid on the galeon, as is before-mentioned, the perſons principally intereſted in the cargoe ſent ſeveral expreſſes to *Mexico*, to beg that ſhe might ſtill be permitted to depart: For as they knew, by the accounts ſent from *Paita*, that we had not more than three hundred men in all, they inſiſted that there was nothing to be feared from us; for that the galeon (carrying above twice as many hands as our whole ſquadron) would be greatly an overmatch for us. And though the Viceroy was inflexible; yet, on the account of

their repreſentation, ſhe was kept ready for the ſea for near three weeks after the firſt order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the Cutters, all the ſhips being joned, the Commodore made a ſignal to ſpeak with their Commanders; and upon enquiry into the ſtock of freſh water remaining on board the ſquadron, it was found to be ſo very ſlender, that we were under a neceſſity of quitting our ſtation to procure a freſh ſupply: And conſulting what place was the propereſt for this purpoſe, it was agreed, that the harbour of *Seguataneo* or *Chequetan* being the neareſt to us, was, on that account, the moſt eligible; and it was therefore immediately reſolved to make the beſt of our way thither: And that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galeon, which perhaps, upon certain intelligence of our being employed at *Chequetan*, might venture to ſlip out to ſea, our Cutter, under the command of Mr. *Hughes*, the Lieutenant of the *Tryal* Prize, was ordered to cruiſe off the port of *Acapulco* for twenty-four days; that if the galeon ſhould ſet ſail in that interval, we might be ſpeedily informed of it. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions we endeavoured to ply to the weſtward, to gain our intended port, but were often interrupted in our progreſs by calms and adverſe currents: In theſe intervals we employed ourſelves in taking out the moſt valuable part of the cargoes of the *Carmelo* and *Carmin* prizes, which two ſhips we intended to deſtroy as ſoon as we had tolerably cleared them. By the firſt of *April* we were ſo far advanced towards *Seguataneo*, that we thought it expedient to ſend out two boats that they might range

range along the coaſt, and diſcover the watering-place; they were gone ſome days, and our water being now very ſhort, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily ſupplies of turtle, for had we been entirely confined to ſalt proviſions, we muſt have ſuffered extremely in ſo warm a climate. Indeed our preſent circumſtances were ſufficiently alarming, and gave the moſt conſiderate amongſt us as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered; for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet diſcovered a place proper to water at, and by the leakage of our caſk and other accidents, we had not ten days water on board the whole ſquadron: So that from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coaſt, and the little reliance we had on the Buccaneer writers (the only guides we had to truſt to) we were apprehenſive of being ſoon expoſed to a calamity, the moſt terrible of any in the long diſheartning catalogue of the diſtreſſes of a ſea-faring life.

But theſe gloomy ſuggeſtions were ſoon happily ended; for our boats returned on the 5th of *April*, having diſcovered a place proper for our purpoſe, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of the rocks of *Seguataneo*, which, by the deſcription they gave of it, appeared to be the port, called by *Dampier* the harbour of *Chequetan*. The ſucceſs of our boats was highly agreeable to us, and they were ordered out again the next day, to ſound the harbour and its entrance, which they had repreſented as very narrow. At their return they reported the place to be free from any danger; ſo that on the 7th we ſtood in, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathom. The *Glouceſter* came to

an anchor at the ſame time with us; but the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin* having fallen to leward, the *Tryal* Prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them in, which in two or three days ſhe effected.

Thus, after a four months continuance at ſea, from the leaving of *Quibo*, and having but ſix days water on board, we arrived in the harbour of *Chequetan*, the deſcription of which, and of the adjacent coaſt, ſhall be the buſineſs of the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. XII.

Deſcription of the harbour of *Chequetan*, and of the adjacent coaſt and country.

THE harbour of *Chequetan*, which we here propoſe to deſcribe, lies in the latitude of 17° : 36′ North, and is about thirty leagues to the weſtward of *Acapulco*. It is eaſy to be diſcovered by any ſhip that will keep well in with the land, eſpecially by ſuch as range down coaſt from *Acapulco*, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of ſand, which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of *Acapulco* to the weſtward, againſt which the ſea breaks with ſuch violence, that it is impoſſible to land in any part of it: But yet the ground is ſo clean, that ſhips, in the fair ſeaſon, may anchor in great ſafety, at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſhore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full

of villages, and planted with a great Number of trees; and on the tops of ſome ſmall eminencies there are ſeveral look-out towers; ſo that the face of the country affords a very agreeable proſpect: For the cultivated part, which is the part here deſcribed, extends ſome leagues back from the ſhore, and there appears to be bounded by the chain of mountains, which ſtretch to a conſiderable diſtance on either ſide of *Acapulco*. It is a moſt remarkable particularity, that in this whole extent, being, as hath been mentioned, eighteen leagues, and containing, in appearance, the moſt populous and beſt planted diſtrict of the whole coaſt, there ſhould be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations either for fiſhing, coaſting, or for pleaſure.

The beach here deſcribed is the ſureſt guide for finding the harbour of *Chequetan*; for five miles to the weſtward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which at firſt makes like an iſland, and is in ſhape not very unlike the hill of *Petaplan*, hereafter mentioned, though much ſmaller. Three miles to the weſtward of this hummock is a white rock lying near the ſhore, which cannot eaſily be paſſed by unobſerved: It is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The weſtward point of this bay is the hill of *Petaplan*, which is repreſented in the twenty-eighth plate, with the view of the Iſlands of *Quicara* and *Quibo*. This hill too, like the foremention hummock, may be at firſt miſtaken for an Iſland, though it be, in reality, a peninſula, which is joined to the Continent by a low and narrow Iſthmus, covered over with ſhrubs and ſmall trees.

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The bay of *Seguataneo* extends from this hill a great way to the weſtward; and it appears, by a plan of the bay of *Petaplan*, which is part of that of *Seguataneo*, and is to be ſeen in the twenty-ninth plate, that at a ſmall diſtance from the hill, and oppoſite to the entrance of the bay, there is an aſſemblage of rocks, which are white from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Four of theſe rocks are high and large, and, together with ſeveral other ſmaller ones, are, by the help of a little imagination, pretended to reſemble the form of a croſs, and are called the *White Friars*. Theſe rocks, as appears by the plan, bear W. by N. from *Petaplan*; and about ſeven miles to the weſtward of them lies the harbour of *Chequetan*, which is ſtill more minutely diſtinguiſhed by a large and ſingle rock, that riſes out of the water a mile and an half diſtant from its entrance, and bears S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from the middle of it. The appearance of the entrance of this harbour is very accurately repreſented in the thirtieth plate, where (e) is the Eaſt point of the harbour, and (d) the Weſt, the forementioned rock being marked (f). In the ſame view (a) is a large ſandy bay, but where there is no landing; (b) are four remarkable white rocks; and from the iſland (c) there runs a large bay to the weſtward.

Theſe are the infallible marks by which the harbour of *Chequetan* may be known to thoſe who keep well in with the land; and I muſt add, that the coaſt is no ways to be dreaded from the middle of *October* to the beginning of *May*, nor is there then any danger from the winds: Though in the remaining part of the year there are frequent and violent tornadoes, heavy rains, and hard gales

in all directions of the compaſs. But as to thoſe who keep at any conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt, there is no other method to be taken by them for finding this harbour, than that of making it by its latitude: For there are ſo many ranges of mountains riſing one upon the back of another within land, that no drawings of the appearance of the coaſt can be at all depended on, when off at ſea; for every little change of diſtance or variation of poſition brings new mountains in view, and produces an infinity of different proſpects, which would render all attempts of delineating the aſpect of the coaſt impoſſible.

This may ſuffice as to the methods of diſcovering the harbour of *Cheqüetan*. A plan of the harbour itſelf is repreſented in the thirty-firſt plate; where it appears, that its entrance is but about half a mile broad; the two points which form it, and which are faced with rocks that are almoſt perpendicular, bear from each other S. E. and N. W. The harbour is inviroued on all ſides, except to the weſtward, with high mountains overſpread with trees. The paſſage into it is very ſafe on either ſide of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eaſtward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with ſtones, but within it is a ſoft mud: And it muſt be remembred, that in coming to an anchor a good allowance ſhould be made for a large ſwell, which frequently cauſes a great ſend of the ſea; as likewiſe, for the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which we obſerved to be about five feet, and that it ſet nearly E. and W.

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The watering-place is ſituated in that part of the harbour, which is taken notice of in the plan for freſh water. This, during the whole time of our ſtay, had the appearance of a large ſtanding lake, without any viſible outlet into the ſea, from which it is ſeparated by a part of the ſtrand. The origin of this lake is a ſpring, that bubbles out of the ground near half a mile within the country. We found the water a little brackiſh, but more conſiderably ſo towards the ſea-ſide; for the nearer we advanced towards the ſpring-head, the ſofter and freſher it proved: This laid us under a neceſſity of filling all our caſks from the furtheſt part of the lake, and occaſioned us ſome trouble; and would have proved ſtill more difficult, had it not been for our particular management, which for the conveniency of it deſerves to be recommended to all who ſhall hereafter water at this place. Our method conſiſted in making uſe of canoes which drew but little water; for, loading them with a number of ſmall caſks, they eaſily got up the lake to the ſpring-head, and the ſmall caſks being there filled, were in the ſame manner tranſported back again to the beach, where ſome of our hands always attended to ſtart them into other caſks of a larger ſize.

Though this lake, during our continuance there, appeared to have no outlet into the ſea, yet there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that in the wet ſeaſon it overflows the ſtrand, and communicates with the ocean; for *Dampier*, who was formerly here, ſpeaks of it as a large river. Indeed there muſt be a very great body of water amaſſed before the lake can riſe high enough to overflow the Strand; for the neighbouring country is ſo low, that great

part of it muſt be covered with water, before it can run out over the beach.

As the country in the neighbourhood, particularly the tract which we have already deſcribed, appeared to be well peopled, and cultivated, we hoped thence to have procured freſh proviſion and other refreſhments which we ſtood in need of. With this view, the morning after we came to an anchor, the Commodore ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to diſcover ſome town or village, where they were to attempt to ſet on foot a correſpondence with the inhabitants; for we doubted not, if we could have any intercourſe with them, but that by preſents of ſome of the coarſe merchandiſe, with which our prizes abounded, (which, though of little conſequence to us, would to them be extremely valuable) we ſhould allure them to furniſh us with whatever fruits or freſh proviſions were in their power. Our people were directed on this occaſion to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, and to make as little oſtentation of hoſtility as poſſible; for we were ſenſible, that we could meet with no wealth here worth our notice, and that what neceſſaries we really wanted, we ſhould in all probability be better ſupplied with by an open amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening an intercourſe with the inhabitants proved ineffectual; for towards evening, the party which had been ordered to march into the country, returned greatly fatigued with their unuſual exerciſe, and ſome of them ſo far ſpent as to have fainted by the way, and to be obliged to be brought back upon the ſhoulders of their com-

panions. They had marched in all, as they conceived, about ten miles, in a beaten road, where they often ſaw the freſh dung of horſes or mules. When they had got about five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt: After ſome deliberation about the courſe they ſhould take, they agreed to purſue the eaſtern road, which, when they had followed for ſome time, led them at once into a large plain or Savannah; on one ſide of which they diſcovered a centinel on horſeback with a piſtol in his hand: It was ſuppoſed that when they firſt ſaw him he was aſleep, but his horſe ſtartled at the glittering of their arms, and turning round ſuddenly rode off with his Maſter, who was very near being unhorſed in the ſurprize, but he recovered his ſeat, and eſcaped only with the loſs of his hat and his piſtol, which he dropped on the ground. Our people ran after him, in hopes of diſcovering ſome village or habitation which he would retreat to; but, as he had the advantage of being on horſeback, he ſoon loſt ſight of them. However, they were unwilling to come back without making ſome diſcovery, and therefore ſtill followed the track they were in; but the heat of the day encreaſing, and finding no water to quench their thirſt, they were at firſt obliged to halt, and then reſolved to return; for as they ſaw no ſigns of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reaſon to believe that there was any village or ſettlement near them: But to leave no means untried of procuring ſome intercourſe with the people, the officers ſtuck up ſeveral poles in the road, to which were affixed declara-

tions, written in *Spaniſh*, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour, and to traffick with us, giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any proviſions they ſhould bring us. This was doubtleſs a very prudent meaſure, but yet it produced no effect; for we never ſaw any of them during the whole time of our continuance at this port of *Chequetan*. But had our men, upon the diviſion of the path, taken the weſtern road inſtead of the eaſtern, it would ſoon have led them to a village or town, which in ſome *Spaniſh* manuſcripts is mentioned as being in the neighbourhood of this port, and which we afterwards learnt was not above two miles from that turning.

And on this occaſion I cannot help mentioning another adventure, which happened to ſome of our people in the bay of *Petaplan*, as it may help to give the Reader a juſt idea of the temper of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at *Chequetan*, Lieutenant *Brett* was ſent by the Commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coaſt to the eaſtward, particularly to make obſervations on the bay and watering-place of *Petaplan*, a plan of which has been already referred to in this chapter. As Mr. *Brett* with one of the boats was preparing to go on ſhore towards the hill of *Petaplan*, he, accidentally looking acroſs the bay, perceived, on the oppoſite ſtrand, three ſmall ſquadrons of horſe parading upon the beach, and ſeeming to advance towards the place where he propoſed to land. On ſight of this he immediately put off the boat, though he had but ſixteen men with him, and ſtood over the bay towards them: And he ſoon

came

came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very ſightly horſes, and were armed with carbines and lances. On ſeeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and ſeemed reſolved to diſpute his landing, firing ſeveral diſtant ſhot at him as he drew near; till at laſt the boat being arrived within a reaſonable diſtance of the moſt advanced ſquadron, Mr. *Brett* ordered his people to fire, upon which this reſolute cavalry inſtantly ran in great confuſion into the wood, through a ſmall opening, which appears in the plan. In this precipitate flight one of their horſes fell down and threw his rider; but, whether he was wounded or not, we could not learn, for both man and horſe ſoon got up again, and followed the reſt into the wood. In the mean time the other two ſquadrons, who were drawn up at a great diſtance behind, out of the reach of our ſhot, were calm ſpectators of the rout of their comrades; for they had halted on our firſt approach, and never advanced afterwards. It was doubleſs fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with ſo little prudence, and exerted ſo little ſpirit; for had they concealed themſelves till our men had landed, it is ſcarcely poſſible but the whole boat's crew muſt have fallen into their hands; ſince the *Spaniards* were not much ſhort of two hundred, and the whole number with Mr. *Brett*, as hath been already mentioned, only amounted to ſixteen. However, the diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a force, collected in this bay of *Petaplan*, obliged us conſtantly to keep a boat or two before it: For we were apprehenſive that the Cutter, which we had left to cruiſe off *Acapulco*, might, on her return, be ſurprized by the enemy,

if

if ſhe did not receive timely information of her danger. But now to proceed with the account of the harbour of *Chequetan*.

After our unſucceſsful attempt to engage the people of the country, to furniſh us with the neceſſaries we wanted, we deſiſted from any more endeavours of the ſame nature, and were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourſelves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fiſh here in tolerable quantities, eſpecially when the ſmoothneſs of the Water permitted us to hale the Seyne. Amongſt the reſt, we got here cavallies, breams, mullets, ſoles, fiddle-fiſh, ſea-eggs, and lobſters: And we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fiſh called the *Torpedo*, or numbing fiſh, which is in ſhape very like the fiddle fiſh, and is not to be known from it but by a brown circular ſpot of about the bigneſs of a crown piece near the center of its back; perhaps its figure will be better underſtood, when I ſay it is a flat fiſh, much reſembling the thorn-back. This fiſh, the *Torpedo*, is indeed of a moſt ſingular Nature, productive of the ſtrangeſt effects on the human body: For whoever handles it, or happens even to ſet his foot upon it, is preſently ſeized with a numbneſs all over him; but which is more diſtinguiſhable, in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The ſame effect too will be in ſome degree produced by touching the fiſh with any thing held in the hand; for I myſelf had a conſiderable degree of numbneſs conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane which I reſted on the body of the fiſh for ſome time; and I make no doubt I ſhould have been much more ſenſibly affected, had not the fiſh been near expiring when I made the experiment:

For

For it is obſervable that this influence acts with moſt vigour when the Fiſh is firſt taken out of the water, and entirely ceaſes when 'tis dead, ſo that it may be then handled or even eaten without any inconvenience. I ſhall only add that the numbneſs of my arm on this occaſion did not go off on a ſudden, as the account of ſome Naturaliſts gave me reaſon to expect, but diminiſhed gradually, ſo that I had ſome ſenſation of it remaining till the next day.

To the account given of the fiſh we met with here, I muſt add, that though turtle now grew ſcarce, and we met with none in this harbour of *Chequetan*, yet our boats, which as I have mentioned, were ſtationed off *Petaplan*, often ſupplied us therewith; and though this was a Food that we had now been ſo long as it were confined to, (for it was the only freſh proviſions which we had taſted for near ſix months) yet we were far from being cloyed with it, or from finding that the reliſh we had of it at all diminiſhed.

The animals we met with on ſhore were principally guanos, with which the country abounds, and which are by ſome reckon'd delicious food. We ſaw no beaſts of prey here, except we ſhould eſteem that amphibious animal, the alligator, as ſuch, ſeveral of which our people diſcovered, but none of them very large. However, we were ſatisfied that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them came in ſight; for we every morning found the beach near the watering place imprinted very thick with their footſteps: But we never apprehended any miſchief from them; for they are by no means ſo fierce as the *Aſiatic* or *African* tyger, and are rarely, if ever known,

known, to attack mankind. Birds were here in ſufficient plenty; for we had abundance of pheaſants of different kinds, ſome of them of an uncommon ſize, but they were very dry and taſteleſs food. And beſides theſe we had a variety of ſmaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreſhments at this place were neither plentiful, nor of the beſt kinds: There were, it is true, a few buſhes ſcattered about the woods, which ſupplied us with limes, but we ſcarcely could procure enough for our preſent uſe; and theſe, with a ſmall plumb of an agreeable acid, called in *Jamaica* the *Hog-plumb*, together with another fruit called a *Papah*, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other uſeful vegetable here worth mentioning, except brook-lime: This indeed grew in great quantities near the freſh-water banks; and, as it was eſteemed an antiſcorbutic, we fed upon it frequently, though its extreme bitterneſs made it very unpalatable.

Theſe are the articles moſt worthy of notice in this harbour of *Chequetan*. I ſhall only mention a particular of the coaſt lying to the weſtward of it, that to the eaſtward having been already deſcribed. As Mr. *Anſon* was always attentive to whatever might be of conſequence to thoſe who might frequent theſe ſeas hereafter; and, as we had obſerved, that there was no double land to the weſtward of *Chequetan*, which ſtretched out to a conſiderable diſtance, with a kind of opening, which appeared not unlike the inlet to ſome harbour, the Commodore, ſoon after we came to an anchor, ſent a boat to diſcover it more accurately; and it was found, on a nearer examination, that the two hills, which formed

formed the double land, were joined together by a valley, and that there was no harbour nor ſhelter between them.

By all that hath been ſaid it will appear, that the conveniencies of this port of *Chequetan*, particularly in the articles of refreſhment, are not altogether ſuch as might be deſired: But yet, upon the whole, it is a place of conſiderable conſequence, and the knowledge of it may be of great import to future cruiſers. For it is the only ſecure harbour in a vaſt extent of coaſt, except *Acapulco*, which is in the hands of the enemy. It lies at a proper diſtance from *Acapulco* for the convenience of ſuch ſhips as may have any deſigns on the *Manila* galeon; and it is a place, where wood and water may be taken in with great ſecurity, in deſpight of the efforts of the inhabitants of the adjacent diſtrict: For there is but one narrow path which leads through the woods into the country, and this is eaſily to be ſecured by a very ſmall party, againſt all the ſtrength the *Spaniards* in that neighbourhood can muſter. After this account of *Chequetan*, and the coaſt contiguous to it, we ſhall return to the recital of our own proceedings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Our proceedings at *Chequetan* and on the adjacent coaſt, till our ſetting ſail for *Aſia*.

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of *Chequetan*, we ſent about ninety of our men well armed on ſhore, forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as hath been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here we compleated the unloading of the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, which we had begun at ſea; at leaſt, we took out of them the indico, cacao, and cochineal, with ſome iron for ballaſt, which were all the goods we intended to preſerve, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes. Here too it was agreed, after a mature conſultation, to deſtroy the *Tryal*'s Prize, as well as the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, whoſe fate had been before reſolved on. Indeed the ſhip was in good repair and fit for the ſea; but as the whole numbers on board our ſquadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth rate man of war, we found it was impoſſible to divide them into three ſhips, without rendring them incapable of navigating in ſafety in the tempeſtuous weather, we had reaſon to expect on the coaſt of *China*, where we ſuppoſed we ſhould arrive about the time of the change of the monſoons. Theſe conſiderations determined the Commodore to deſtroy the *Tryal* Prize, and to reinforce the *Glouceſter* with the greateſt part of her crew. And in conſequence

of

of this reſolve, all the ſtores on board the *Tryal* Prize were removed into the other ſhips, and the Prize herſelf, with the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, were prepared for ſcuttling with all the expedition we were maſters of; but the greateſt difficulties we were under in laying in a ſtore of water (which have been already touched on) together with the neceſſary repairs of our rigging and other unavoidable occupations, took us up ſo much time, and found us ſuch unexpected employment, that it was near the end of *April* before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our ſtay here, there happened an incident, which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in *England* of our ſafety, which for ſome time they had deſpaired of, and were then in doubt about, I ſhall beg leave particularly to recite. I have obſerved, in the preceding chapter, that from this harbour of *Chequetan* there was but one path-way which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and were thence convinced, that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it paſſed by the ſpring-head, and was the only avenue by which the *Spaniards* could approach us, we, at ſome diſtance beyond the ſpring-head, felled ſeveral large trees, and laid them one upon the other acroſs the path; and at this barricadoe we conſtantly kept a guard: And we beſides ordered our men employed in watering to have their arms ready, and, in caſe of any alarm, to march inſtantly to this poſt. And though our principal intention was to prevent our being diſturbed by any ſudden attack of the enemy's horſe, yet it anſwered another purpoſe, which was not in itſelf leſs important; this was to hinder our own people from ſtraggling ſingly into the country,

country, where we had reaſon to believe they would be ſurprized by the *Spaniards*, who would doubtleſs be extremely ſolicitous to pick up ſome of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future deſigns. To avoid this inconvenience, the ſtricteſt orders were given to the centinels, to let no perſon whatever paſs beyond their poſt: But notwithſtanding this precaution, we miſſed one *Lewis Leger*, who was the Commodore's Cook; and as he was a *Frenchman*, and ſuſpected to be a Papiſt, it was by ſome imagined that he had deſerted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; but this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded ſurmiſe; for it was afterwards known, that he had been taken by ſome *Indians*, who carried him priſoner to *Acapulco*, from whence he was transferred to *Mexico*, and then to *Vera Cruz*, where he was ſhipped on board a veſſel bound to *Old Spain*: And the veſſel being obliged by ſome accident to put into *Liſbon*, *Leger* eſcaped on ſhore, and was by the *Britiſh* Conſul ſent from thence to *England*; where he brought the firſt authentick account of the ſafety of the Commodore, and of what he had done in the *South-Seas*. The relation he gave of his own ſeizure was, that he had rambled into the woods at ſome diſtance from the barricadoe, where he had firſt attempted to paſs, but had been ſtopped and threatned to be puniſhed; that his principal view was to get a quantity of limes for his Maſter's ſtore; and that in this occupation he was ſurprized unawares by four *Indians*, who ſtripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to *Acapulco*, expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, which at that time of the year ſhone with its greateſt violence: And afterwards at *Mexico* his treatment in priſon

was

was sufficiently severe, and the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred, which the *Spaniards* bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the *South-Seas*. Indeed *Leger*'s fortune was, upon the whole, extremely singular; for after the hazards he had run in the Commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement amongst the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to *England*: For though, when he arrived in *London*, some of Mr. *Anson*'s friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him; yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, for he was killed in an insignificant night brawl, the cause of which could scarcely be discovered.

And here I must observe, that though the enemy never appeared in sight during our stay in this harbour, yet we perceived that there were large parties of them incamped in the woods about us; for we could see their smokes, and could thence determine that they were posted in a circular line surrounding us at a distance; and just before our coming away they seemed, by the increase of their fires, to have received a considerable reinforcement. But to return:

Towards the lattter end of *April*, the unloading of our three Prizes, our wooding and watering; and, in short, all our proposed employments at the harbour of *Chequetan*, were compleated: So that, on the 27th of *April*, the *Tryal*'s Prize, the *Carmelo* and the *Carmin*, all which we here intended to destroy, were towed on shore and scuttled, and a quantity of combustible materials were distributed in their upper works; and the next morning the

Centurion and the *Glouceſter* weighed anchor; but as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was diſpatched back again to ſet fire to our prize, which was accordingly executed. And a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, incloſing a letter to Mr. *Hughes*, who commanded the Cutter, which was ordered to cruiſe before the port of *Acapulco*, when we came off that ſtation. And on this occaſion I muſt mention more particularly than I have yet done, the views of the Commodore in leaving the Cutter before that port.

When we were neceſſitated to make the *Chequetan* to take in our water, Mr. *Anſon* conſidered that our being in that harbour would ſoon be known at *Acapulco*; and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galeon might put to ſea, eſpecially as *Chequetan* is ſo very remote from the courſe generally ſteered by the galeon: He therefore ordered the Cutter to cruiſe twenty-four days off the port of *Acapulco*, and her Commander was directed, on perceiving the galeon under ſail, to make the beſt of his way to the Commodore at *Chequetan*. As the *Centurion* was doubtleſs a much better ſailor than the galeon, Mr. *Anſon*, in this caſe, reſolved to have got to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and to have purſued the galeon acroſs the *Pacific* Ocean: And ſuppoſing he ſhould not have met with her in his paſſage, (which conſidering that he would have kept nearly the ſame parallel, was not very improbable) yet he was certain of arriving off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*, before her; and that being

the

the firſt land ſhe makes on her return to the *Philippines*, we could not have failed to have fallen in with her, by cruiſing a few days in that Station. But the Viceroy of *Mexico* ruined this project, by keeping the galeon in the port of *Acapulco* all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr. *Hughes*, the Commander of the Cutter, (the time of whoſe return was now conſiderably elapſed) directed him to go back immediately to his former ſtation before *Acapulco*, where he would find Mr. *Anſon*, who reſolved to cruiſe for him there for a certain number of days; after which it was added, that the Commodore would return to the ſouthward to join the reſt of the ſquadron. This laſt article was inſerted to deceive the *Spaniards*, if they got poſſeſſion of the canoe, (as we afterwards learnt they did) but could not impoſe on Mr. *Hughes*, who well knew that the Commodore had no ſquadron to join, nor any Intention of ſteering back to *Peru*.

Being now in the offing of *Chequetan*, bound croſs the vaſt *Pacific* Ocean in our way to *China*, we were impatient to run off the coaſt as ſoon as poſſible; for as the ſtormy ſeaſon was approaching apace; and, as we had no further views of the *American* ſeas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from ſtanding to the weſtward, the moment we got out of the harbour of *Chequetan*: And it was no ſmall mortification to us, that our neceſſary employment there had detained us ſo much longer than we expected; and now we were farther detained by the abſence of the Cutter, and the ſtanding towards *Acapulco* in ſearch of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruiſe had been expired for near a fortnight, we ſuſpected that ſhe had

been discovered from the shore; and that the governor of *Acapulco* had thereupon sent out a force to seize her, which, as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprize. However, this being only conjecture, the Commodore, as soon as he was got clear of the harbour of *Chequetan*, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her: And to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought to every night; and the *Gloucester*, whose station was a league within us towards the shore, carried a light, which the Cutter could not but perceive, if she kept along shore, as we supposed she would do; and as a farther security, the *Centurion* and the *Gloucester* alternately shewed two false fires every half hour. Indeed, had she escaped us, she would have found orders in the canoe to have returned immediately before *Acapulco*, where Mr. *Anson* proposed to cruise for her some days.

By *Sunday*, the 2d of *May*, we were advanced within three leagues of *Acapulco*, and having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for lost, which, besides the compassionate concern for our shipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered, was in itself a misfortune, which, in our present scarcity of hands, we were all greatly interested in: For the crew of the Cutter, consisting of six men and the Lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purposely pickt out for this service, and known to be every one of them of tried and approved resolution, and as skilful seamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into *Acapulco*, the Commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them.

them. This was founded on our having many *Spaniſh* and *Indian* priſoners in our poſſeſſion, and a number of ſick Negroes, who could be of no ſervice to us in the navigating of the ſhip. The Commodore therefore wrote a letter the ſame day to the Governor of *Acapulco*, telling him that he would releaſe them all, provided the Governor returned the Cutter's crew; and the letter was diſpatched the ſame afternoon by a *Spaniſh* officer, of whoſe honour we had a good opinion, and who was furniſhed with a launce belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of ſix other priſoners who all gave their parole for their return. The officer too, beſides the Commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition ſigned by all the reſt of the priſoners, beſeeching his Excellence to acquieſce in the terms propoſed for their liberty. From a conſideration of the number of our priſoners, and the quality of ſome them, we did not doubt but the Governor would readily comply with Mr. *Anſon*'s propoſal, and therefore kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an anſwer at the limited time, which was the next day, being *Monday*: But both on the *Monday* and *Tueſday* we were driven ſo far off ſhore, that we could not hope to receive any anſwer; and on the *Wedneſday* morning we found ourſelves fourteen leagues from the harbour of *Acapulco*; but as the wind was now favourable, we preſſed forwards with all our ſail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land in a few hours. Whilſt we were thus ſtanding in, the man at the maſt-head called out that he ſaw a boat under ſail at a conſiderable diſtance to the South eaſtward: This we took for

granted was the anſwer of the Governor to the Commodore's meſſage, and we inſtantly edged towards it; but when we drew nearer, we found to our unſpeakable joy that it was our own Cutter. While ſhe was ſtill at a diſtance we imagined that ſhe had been diſcharged out of the port of *Acapulco* by the Governor; but when ſhe drew nearer, the wan and meager countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had ſuffered much greater hardſhips than could be expected from even the ſeverities of a *Spaniſh* priſon. They were obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and were immediately put to bed, and with reſt, and nouriſhing diet, which they were plentifully ſupplied with from the Commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour apace: And now we learnt that they had kept the ſea the whole time of their abſence, which was above ſix weeks, that when they finiſhed their cruiſe before *Acapulco*, and had juſt begun to ply to the weſtward in order to join the ſquadron, a ſtrong adverſe current had forced them down the coaſt to the eaſtward in ſpight of all their efforts; that at length their water being all expended, they were obliged to ſearch the coaſt farther on to the eaſtward, in queſt of ſome convenient landing-place, where they might get a freſh ſupply; that in this diſtreſs they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found every-where ſo large a ſurf, that there was not the leaſt poſſibility of their landing; that they paſſed ſome days in this dreadful ſituation, without water, and having no other means left them to allay their thirſt than ſucking the blood of the turtle, which they caught; and at laſt, giving up

all hopes of relief, the heat of the climate too augmenting their neceſſities, and rendring their ſufferings inſupportable, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, fully perſuaded that they ſhould periſh by the moſt terrible of all deaths; but that they were ſoon after happily relieved by a moſt unexpected incident, for there fell ſo heavy a rain, that by ſpreading their ſails horizontally, and by putting bullets in the centers of them to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their caſk; that immediately upon this fortunate ſupply they ſtood to the weſtward in queſt of the Commodore; and being now luckily favoured by a ſtrong current, they joined us in leſs than fifty hours, from the time they ſtood to the weſtward, after having been abſent from us full forty-three days. Thoſe who have an idea of the inconſiderable ſize of a Cutter belonging to a ſixty gun ſhip, (being only an open boat about twenty-two feet in length) and who will attend to the various accidents to which ſhe was expoſed during a ſix weeks continuance alone, in the open ocean, on ſo impracticable and dangerous a coaſt, will readily own, that her return to us at laſt, after all the difficulties which ſhe actually experienced, and the hazards to which ſhe was each hour expoſed, may be conſidered as little ſhort of miraculous.

I cannot finiſh the article of this Cutter, without remarking how little reliance Navigators ought to have on the accounts of the Buccaneer writers: For though in this run of hers, eighty leagues to the eaſtward of *Acapulco*, ſhe found no place where it was poſſible for a boat to land, yet thoſe writers have not been aſhamed

to feign harbours and convenient watering-places within theſe limits, thereby expoſing ſuch as ſhould confide in their relations, to the riſque of being deſtroyed by thirſt.

I muſt farther add on this occaſion, that when we ſtood near the port of *Acapulco*, in order to ſend our meſſage to the Governor, and to receive his anſwer, Mr. *Brett* took that opportunity of delineating a view of the entrance of the port, and of the neighbouring coaſt, which added to the plan of the place formerly mentioned, may be of conſiderable uſe hereafter, and is therefore exhibited in the thirty-ſecond plate. In this plate *(a)* is the weſt point of the harbour called the *Griffo*, being in the latitude of 16ᵍ: 45′; *(bc)* is the Iſland bearing from the obſerver N. by E, three leagues diſtant; *(d)* is the eaſt point of the harbour; *(e)* port *Marquis*; *(f) Sierra di Brea*; *(h)* a white rock in the harbour, and *(g)* watch-towers.

And now having received our Cutter, the ſole object of our coming a ſecond time before *Acapulco*, the Commodore reſolved not to loſe a moment's time longer, but to run off the coaſt with the utmoſt expedition, both as the ſtormy ſeaſon on the coaſt of *Mexico* was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehenſive of having the weſterly monſoon to ſtruggle with when we came upon the coaſt of *China*; and therefore he no longer ſtood towards *Acapulco*, as he now wanted no anſwer from the Governor; but yet he reſolved not to deprive his priſoners of the liberty, which he had promiſed them; ſo that they were all immediately embarked in two launches which belonged to our prizes, thoſe from the *Centurion* in one launch, and thoſe from the *Glouceſter* in the other. The launches

launches were well equipped with masts, sails and oars; and, lest the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a stock of water and provisions put on board them sufficient for fourteen days. There were discharged thirty-nine persons from on board the *Centurion*, and eighteen from the *Gloucester*, the greatest part of them *Spaniards*, the rest *Indians* and sick Negroes: But as our crews were very weak, we kept the Mulattoes and some of the stoutest of the Negroes, with a few *Indians*, to assist us; but we dismissed every *Spanish* prisoner whatever. We have since learnt, that these two launches arrived safe at *Acapulco*, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated; and that the Governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to the Commodore's letter, and had attended it with a present of two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions which were to be got at *Acapulco*; but that these boats not having found our ships, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their provisions over-board in a storm which threatened their destruction.

The sending away our prisoners was our last transaction on the *American* coast; for no sooner had we parted with them, than we and the *Gloucester* made sail to the S. W. proposing to get a good offing from the land, where we hoped, in a few days, to meet with the regular trade-wind, which the accounts of former Navigators had represented as much brisker and steadier in this ocean, than in any other part of the globe: For it has been esteemed no uncommon passage, to run from hence to the eastermost parts of *Asia* in two months; and

and we flattered ourſelves that we were as capable of making an expeditious paſſage, as any ſhips that had ever run this courſe before us: So that we hoped ſoon to gain the coaſt of *China*, for which we were now bound. And conformable to the general idea of this navigation given by former Voyagers, we conſidered it as free from all kinds of embarraſment of bad weather, fatigue, or ſickneſs; and conſequently we undertook it with alacrity, eſpecially as it was no contemptible ſtep towards our arrival at our native country, for which many of us by this time began to have great longings. Thus, on the 6th of *May*, we, for the laſt time, loſt ſight of the mountains of *Mexico*, perſuaded, that in a few weeks we ſhould arrive at the river of *Canton* in *China*, where we expected to meet with many *Engliſh* ſhips, and numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable, well-frequented port, inhabited by a poliſhed people, and abounding with the conveniencies and indulgencies of a civilized life; bleſſings, which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power. But there yet remains (before we take our leave of *America*) the conſideration of a matter well worthy of attention, the diſcuſſion of which ſhall be referred to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

A brief account of what might have been expected from our ſquadron, had it arrived in the *South-Seas* in good time.

AFTER the recital of the tranſactions of the Commodore, and the ſhips under his command, on the coaſts of *Peru* and *Mexico*, as contained in the preceding part of this book, it will be no uſeleſs digreſſion to examine what the whole ſquadron might have been capable of atchieving, had it arrived in thoſe ſeas in ſo good a plight, as it would probably have done, had the paſſage round Cape *Horn* been attempted in a more ſeaſonable time of the year. This diſquiſition may be ſerviceable to thoſe who ſhall hereafter form projects of the like nature for that part of the world, or may be entruſted with their execution. And therefore I propoſe, in this chapter, to conſider as ſuccinctly as I can, the numerous advantages which the Public might have received from the operations of the ſquadron, had it ſet ſail from *England* a few months ſooner.

And firſt, I muſt ſuppoſe, that in the ſummer-time we might have got round Cape *Horn* with an inconſiderable loſs, and without any damage to our ſhips or rigging. For the Duke and Ducheſs of *Briſtol*, who between them had above three hundred men, buried no more than two, from the coaſt of *Brazil* to *Juan Fernandes*; and out of an hundred and eighty-three hands which were on board the Duke, there were only twenty-one ſick of

of the ſcurvy, when they arrived at that Iſland: Whence, as men of war are much better provided with all conveniencies than privateers, we might doubtleſs have appeared before *Baldivia* in full ſtrength, and in a condition of entering immediately on action; and therefore, as that place was in a very defenceleſs ſtate, its cannon incapable of ſervice, and its garriſon in great meaſure unarmed, it was impoſſible that it could have oppoſed our force, or that its half-ſtarved inhabitants, moſt of whom are convicts baniſhed thither from other parts, could have had any other thoughts than that of ſubmitting; and *Baldivia*, which is a moſt excellent port, being once taken, we ſhould immediately have been terrible to the whole kingdom of *Chili*, and ſhould doubtleſs have awed the moſt diſtant parts of the *Spaniſh* Empire. Indeed, it is far from improbable that, by a prudent uſe of our advantages, we might have given a violent ſhock to the authority of *Spain* on that whole Continent; and might have render'd ſome, at leaſt, of her provinces independent. This would doubtleſs have turned the whole attention of the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry to that part of the world, where the danger would have been ſo preſſing: And thence *Great Britain*, and her Allies, might have been rid of the numerous embarraſments, which the wealth of the *Spaniſh Indies*, operating in conjunction with the *Gallick* intrigues, have conſtantly thrown in her way.

And that I may not be thought to over-rate the force of this ſquadron, by aſcribing to it a power of overturning the *Spaniſh* Government in *America*, it is neceſſary to premiſe a few obſervations on the condition of the provinces bordering on the *South-Seas*,

Seas, and on the disposition of the inhabitants, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, at that time; by which it will appear, that there was great dissention amongst the Governors, and disaffection among the *Creolians*; that they were in want of arms and stores, and had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations in their garrisons; and that as to the *Indians* on their frontier, they were universally discontented, and seemed to be watching with impatience for the favourable moment, when they might take a severe revenge for the barbarities they had groaned under for more than two ages; so that every circumstance concurred to facilitate the enterprizes of our squadron. Of all these particulars we were amply informed by the letters we took on board our prizes, none of these vessels, as I remember, having had the precaution to throw her papers over-board.

The ill blood amongst the Governors was greatly augmented by their apprehensions of our squadron; for every one being willing to have it believed, that the bad condition of his Government was not the effect of negligence, there were continual demands and remonstrances amongst them, in order to throw the blame upon each other. Thus, for instance, the President of St. *Jago* in *Chili*, the President of *Panama*, and many other Governors, and military officers, were perpetually soliciting the Viceroy of *Peru* to furnish them with the necessary supplies of money for putting their provinces and places in a proper state of defence to oppose our designs: But the customary answer of the Viceroy to these representations was the emptiness of the royal chest at *Lima*, and the difficulties he was under to support the expences

of

of his own Government; and in one of his letters, (which we intercepted,) he mentioned his apprehenſions that he might even be neceſſitated to ſtop the pay of the troops and of the garriſon of *Callao*, the key of the whole kingdom of *Peru*. Indeed he did at times remit to theſe Governors ſome part of their demands; but as what he ſent them was greatly ſhort of their wants, it rather tended to the raiſing jealouſies and heart-burnings amongſt them, than contributed to the purpoſes for which it was intended.

And beſides theſe mutual janglings amongſt the Governors, the whole body of the people were extremely diſſatisfied; for they were fully perſuaded that the affairs of *Spain* for many years before had been managed by the influence of a particular foreign intereſt, which was altogether detached from the advantages of the *Spaniſh* Nation: So that the inhabitants of theſe diſtant provinces believed themſelves to be ſacrificed to an ambition, which never conſidered their convenience or intereſts, or paid any regard to the reputation of their name, or the honour of their country. That this was the temper of the *Creolian Spaniards* at that time, might be evinced from a hundred inſtances; but I ſhall content myſelf with one, which is indeed concluſive: This is the teſtimony of the *French* Mathematicians ſent into *America*, to meaſure the magnitude of an equatorial degree of latitude. For in the relation of the murther of a ſurgeon belonging to their company in one of the cities of *Peru*, and of the popular tumult occaſioned thereby, written by one of thoſe aſtronomers, the author confeſſes, that the inhabitants, during the uproar, all joined in imprecations

imprecations on their bad Governors, and beſtowed the moſt abuſive language upon the *French*, deteſting them, in all probability, more particularly as belonging to a nation, to whoſe influence in the *Spaniſh* Counſels the *Spaniards* imputed all their misfortunes.

And whilſt the *Creolian Spaniards* were thus diſſatisfied, it appears by the letters we intercepted, that the *Indians*, on almoſt every frontier, were ripe for a revolt, and would have taken up arms on the ſlighteſt encouragement; in particular, the *Indians* in the ſouthern parts of *Peru*; as likewiſe the *Araucos*, and the reſt of the *Chilian Indians*, the moſt powerful and terrible to the *Spaniſh* name of any on that Continent. For it ſeems, that in the diſputes between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, which happened ſome time before our arrival; the *Spaniards* had inſulted the *Indians* with an account of the force, which they expected from *Old Spain* under the command of Admiral *Pizarro*, and had vaunted that he was coming thither to compleat the great work, which had been left unfiniſhed by his anceſtors. Theſe threats alarmed the *Indians*, and made them believe that their extirpation was reſolved on: For the *Pizarro*'s being the firſt conquerors of that coaſt, the *Peruvian Indians* held the name, and all that bore it, in execration; not having forgot the deſtruction of their Monarchy, the maſſacre of their beloved *Inca*, *Atapalipa*, the extinction of their religion, and the ſlaughter of their anceſtors; all perpetrated by the family of the *Pizarro*'s. The *Chilian Indians* too abhorred a Chief deſcended from thoſe, who, by their lieutenants, had firſt attempted to inſlave them, and had neceſſitated their Tribes, for more than a Century, to be continually

ally waſting their blood in defence of their independency.

And let it not be ſuppoſed, that among thoſe barbarous nations the traditions of ſuch diſtant tranſactions could not be continued till the preſent times; for all who have been acquainted with that part of the world agree, that the *Indians*, in their public feaſts, and annual ſolemnities, conſtantly revive the memory of theſe tragic incidents; and thoſe who have been preſent at theſe ſpectacles, have obſerved, that all the recitals and repreſentations of this kind were received with an enthuſiaſtic rage, and with ſuch vehement emotions, as plainly evinced how ſtrongly the memory of their former wrongs was implanted in them, and how acceptable the means of revenge would at all times prove. To this account I muſt add too, that the *Spaniſh* Governors themſelves were ſo fully informed of the diſpoſition of the *Indians*, and were ſo apprehenſive of a general defection among them, that they employed all their induſtry to reconcile the moſt dangerous tribes, and to prevent them, from immediately taking up arms: Among the reſt, the Preſident of *Chili* in particular made large conceſſions to the *Arraucos*, and the other *Chilian Indians*, by which, and by diſtributing conſiderable preſents to their leading men, he at laſt got them to conſent to a prolongation of the truce between the two nations. But theſe negotiations were not concluded at the time when we might have been in the *South-Seas*; and had they been compleated, yet the hatred of theſe *Indians* to the *Spaniards* was ſo great, that it would have been impoſſible for their chiefs to have prevented their joining us.

Thus

Thus then it appears, that on our arrival in the *South-ſea* we might have found the whole coaſt unprovided with troops, and deſtitute even of arms: For we well knew from every particular intelligence, that there were not three hundred fire-arms, of which too the greateſt part were matchlocks, in all the province of *Chili*. At the ſame time, the *Indians* would have been ready to revolt, the *Spaniards* diſpoſed to mutiny, and the Governors enraged with each other, and each prepared to rejoice at the diſgrace of his antagoniſt; whilſt we, on the other hand, might have conſiſted of near two thouſand men, the greateſt part in health and vigour, all well-armed, and united under a Chief, whoſe enterpriſing genius (as we have ſeen) could not be depreſſed by a continued ſeries of the moſt ſiniſter events, and whoſe equable and prudent turn of temper would have remained unvaried, in the midſt of the greateſt degree of good ſucceſs; and who beſides poſſeſſed, in a diſtinguiſhed manner, the two qualities, the moſt neceſſary in theſe uncommon undertakings; I mean, that of maintaining his authority, and preſerving, at the ſame time, the affections of his people. Our other officers too, of every rank, appear, by the experience the Public hath ſince had of them, to have been equal to any enterprize they might have been charged with by their Commander: And our men, (at all times brave, if well conducted) in ſuch a cauſe, where treaſure was the object, and under ſuch leaders, would doubtleſs have been prepared to rival the moſt celebrated atchievements hitherto performed by *Britiſh* Mariners.

It cannot then be conteſted, but that *Baldivia* muſt have ſurrendered on the appearance of our

ſquadron: After which, it may be preſumed, that the *Arraucos*, the *Pulches* and *Penguinches*, inhabiting the banks of the river *Imperial*, about twenty-five leagues to the northward of this place, would have immediately taken up arms, being diſpoſed, as hath been already related, and encouraged by the arrival of ſo conſiderable a force in their neighbourhood. As theſe *Indians* can bring into the field near thirty thouſand men, the greateſt part of them horſe, their firſt ſtep would doubtleſs have been the invading the province of *Chili*, which they would have found totally unprovided of ammunition and weapons; and as its inhabitants are a luxurious and effeminate race, they would have been incapable, on ſuch an emergency, of giving any oppoſition to this rugged enemy: So that it is no ſtrained conjecture to imagine, that the *Indians* would have been ſoon maſters of the whole country. And the other *Indians* on the frontiers of *Peru* being equally diſpoſed with the *Arraucos* to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* yoke; it is highly probable, that they likewiſe would have embraced the occaſion, and that a general inſurrection would have taken place through all the *Spaniſh* territories in *South America*; in which caſe, the only reſource left to the *Creolians* (diſſatisfied as they were with the *Spaniſh* Government) would have been to have made the beſt terms they could with their *Indian* neighbours, and to have withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of a Maſter, who had ſhown ſo little regard to their ſecurity. This laſt ſuppoſition may perhaps appear chimerical to thoſe, who meaſure the poſſibility of all events by the ſcanty ſtandard of their own experience; but the temper of the times, and the ſtrong diſlike of the natives to the meaſures then

purſued

purſued by the *Spaniſh* Court, ſufficiently evince at leaſt its poſſibility. But not to inſiſt on the preſumption of a general revolt, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to conclude, that the *Arraucos* would ſcarcely have failed of taking arms on our appearance: For this alone would ſo far have embarraſſed the enemy, that they would no longer have thought of oppoſing us; but would have turned all their care to the *Indian* affairs; as they ſtill remember, with the utmoſt horror, the ſacking of their cities, the rifling of their convents, the captivity of their wives and daughters, and the deſolation of their country by theſe reſolute ſavages, in the laſt war between the two nations. For it muſt be remembered, that this tribe of *Indians* have been frequently ſucceſsful againſt the *Spaniards*, and poſſeſs at this time a large tract of country, which was formerly full of *Spaniſh* towns and villages, whoſe inhabitants were all either deſtroyed, or carried into captivity by the *Arraucos* and the neighbouring *Indians*, who, in a war againſt the *Spaniards*, never fail to join their forces.

But even, independent of an *Indian* revolt, there were but two places on all the coaſt of the *South-Sea*, which could be ſuppoſed capable of reſiſting our ſquadron; theſe were the cities of *Panama* and *Callao*: As to the firſt of theſe, its fortifications were ſo decayed, and it was ſo much in want of powder, that the Governor himſelf, in an intercepted letter, acknowledged it was incapable of being defended; ſo that I take it for granted, it would have given us but little trouble, eſpecially if we had opened a communication acroſs the Iſthmus with our fleet on the other ſide: And for the city and port of *Callao*, its condition was not much

better than that of *Panama*; for its walls are built upon the plain ground, without either out-work or ditch before them, and conſiſt only of very ſlender feeble maſonry, without any earth behind them; ſo that a battery of five or ſix pieces of cannon, raiſed any where within four or five hundred paces of the place, would have had a full view of the whole rampart, and would have opened it in a ſhort time; and the breach hereby formed, as the walls are ſo extremely thin, could not have been difficult of aſcent; for the ruins would have been but little higher than the ſurface of the ground; and it would have yielded this particular advantage to the aſſailants, that the bullets, which grazed upon it, would have driven before them ſuch ſhivers of brick and ſtone, as would have prevented the garriſon from forming behind it, ſuppoſing that the troops employed in the defence of the place, ſhould have ſo far ſurpaſſed the uſual limits of *Creolian* bravery, as to reſolve to ſtand a general aſſault: Indeed, ſuch a reſolution cannot be imputed to them; for the garriſon and people were in general diſſatisfied with the Viceroy's behaviour, and were never expected to act a vigorous part. The Viceroy himſelf greatly apprehended that the Commodore would make him a viſit at *Lima*, the capitol of the kingdom of *Peru*; to prevent which, if poſſible, he had ordered twelve gallies to be built at *Guaiaquil* and other places, which were intended to oppoſe the landing of our boats, and to hinder us from puſhing our men on ſhore. But this was an impracticable project, and proceeded on the ſuppoſition that our ſhips, when we ſhould land our men, would keep at ſuch a diſtance, that theſe gallies, by drawing little water, would have been

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out of the reach of their guns; whereas the Commodore, before he had made such an attempt, would doubtless have been possessed of several prize ships, which he would not have hesitated to have run on shore for the protection of his boats; and besides there were many places on that coast, and one in particular in the neighbourhood of *Callao*, where there was good anchoring, though a great depth of water, within a cable's length of the shore; so that the cannon of the men of war would have swept all the coast to above a mile's distance from the water's edge, and would have effectually prevented any force from assembling, to oppose the landing and forming of our men: And the place had this additional advantage, that it was but two leagues distant from the city of *Lima*; so that we might have been at that city within four hours after we should have been first discovered from the shore. The place I have here in view is about two leagues South of *Callao*, and just to the northward of the head-land called, in *Frezier*'s draught of that coast, *Morro Solar*. Here there is seventy or eighty fathom of water, within two cables length of the shore; and the *Spaniards* themselves were so apprehensive of our attempting to land there, that they had projected to build a fort close to the water; but there being no money in the royal chests, they could not go on with that work, and therefore they contented themselves with keeping a guard of an hundred horse there, that they might be sure to receive early notice of our appearance on their coast. Indeed some of them (as we are told) conceiving our management at sea to be as pusillanimous as their own, pretended that the Commo-

dore would never dare to bring in his ſhips there for fear that in ſo great a depth of water their anchors could not hold them.

And here let it not be imagined, that I am proceeding upon groundleſs and extravagant preſumptions, when I conclude, that fifteen hundred or a thouſand of our people, well conducted, ſhould have been an over-match for any numbers the *Spaniards* could muſter in *South-America*. For, not to mention the experience we had of them at *Paita* and *Petaplan*, it muſt be remembered, that our Commodore was extremely ſolicitous to have all his men trained to the dexterous uſe of their fire-arms; whereas the *Spaniards*, in this part of the world, were in great want of arms, and were very awkward in the management of the few they had: And though, on their repeated repreſentations, the Court of *Spain* had ordered ſeveral thouſand firelocks to be put on board *Pizarro*'s ſquadron, yet thoſe, it is evident, could not have been in *America* time enough to have been employed againſt us; ſo that by our arms, and our readineſs in the uſe of them (not to inſiſt on the timidity and ſofneſs of our enemy) we ſhould in ſome degree have had the ſame advantages, which the *Spaniards* themſelves had, in the firſt diſcovery of this country, againſt its naked and unarmed inhabitants.

And now let it be conſidered what were the events which we had to fear, or what were the circumſtances which could have prevented us from giving law to all the coaſt of *South America*, and thereby cutting off from *Spain* the reſources which ſhe drew from thoſe immenſe provinces. By ſea there was no force capable of oppoſing us; for how ſoon ſoever we had ſailed, *Pizarro*'s ſquadron could not have

have ſailed ſooner than it did, and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with: As we ſhould have been maſters of the ports of *Chili*, we could there have ſupplied ourſelves with the proviſions we wanted in the greateſt plenty; and from *Baldivia* to the equinoctial we ran no riſque of loſing our men by ſickneſs, (that being of all climates the moſt temperate and healthy) nor of having our ſhips diſabled by bad weather; and had we wanted hands to aſſiſt in the navigating our ſquadron, whilſt a conſiderable part of our men were employ'd on ſhore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers we pleaſed in the ports we ſhould have taken, and the prizes which would have fallen into our hands; and I muſt obſerve that the *Indians*, who are the principal ſailors in that part of the world, are extremely docile, and dexterous, and though they are not fit to ſtruggle with the inclemencies of a cold climate, yet in temperate ſeas they are moſt uſeful and laborious ſeamen.

Thus then it appears, what important revolutions might have been brought about by our ſquadron, had it departed from *England* as early as it ought to have done: And from hence it is eaſy to conclude, what immenſe advantages might have thence accrued to the public. For, as on our ſucceſs it would have been impoſſible for the kingdom of *Spain* to have received any treaſure from the provinces bordering on the *South-Seas*, or even to have had any communication with them, it is certain that the whole attention of that Monarchy muſt have been immediately employed in regaining the poſſeſſion of theſe ineſtimable territories, either by force or compact. By the firſt of theſe methods it was ſcarcely poſſible they could ſucceed; for it

muſt have been at leaſt a twelve-month from our arrival, before any ſhips from *Spain* could get into the *South-Seas*, and thoſe perhaps ſeparated, diſabled, and ſickly; and by that time they would have had no port in their poſſeſſion, either to rendezvous at, or to refit; whilſt we might have been ſupplied acroſs the Iſthmus with whatever neceſſaries, ſtores, or even men we wanted, and might thereby have maintained our ſquadron in as good a plight, as when it firſt ſet ſail from St. *Helens*. In ſhort, it required but little prudence in the conduct of this buſineſs to have rendered all the efforts of *Spain*, ſeconded by the power of *France*, ineffectual, and to have maintained our conqueſts in defiance of them both: So that they muſt either have reſolved to have left *Great-Britain* maſters of the wealth of *South-America*, (the principal ſupport of all their deſtructive projects) or they muſt have ſubmitted to her terms, and have been contented to receive thoſe provinces back again, as an equivalent for theſe reſtrictions to their future ambition, which her prudence ſhould have dictated to them. Having thus diſcuſſed the prodigious weight which the operations of our ſquadron might have added to the national influence of this kingdom, I ſhall here end this ſecond book, referring to the next, the paſſage of the ſhattered remains of our force acroſs the *Pacific* Ocean, and all their future tranſactions till the Commodore's arrival in *England*.

End of BOOK II.

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VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD, &c.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The run from the coaſt of *Mexico* to the *Ladrones* or *Marian* Iſlands.

WHEN, on the 6th of *May* 1742, we left the coaſt of *America*, we ſtood to the S. W. with a view of meeting with the N. E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers made us expect at ſeventy or eighty leagues diſtance from the land: We had beſides another reaſon for ſtanding to the ſouthward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13 or 14° North; that being the parallel where the *Pacific* Ocean is moſt uſually croſſed, and conſequently where the navigation is eſteemed the ſafeſt: This laſt purpoſe we had ſoon anſwered, being in a day or two ſufficiently advanced to the South. At the ſame time

time we were alſo farther from the ſhore, than we had preſumed was neceſſary for the falling in with the trade-wind: But in this particular we were moſt grievouſly diſappointed; for the wind ſtill continued to the weſtward, or at beſt variable. As the getting into the N. E. trade, was to us a matter of the laſt conſequence, we ſtood more to the ſouthward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were for a long time unſucceſsful: So that it was ſeven weeks, from our leaving the coaſt, before we got into the true trade-wind. This was an interval, in which we believed we ſhould well nigh have reached the eaſtermoſt parts of *Aſia:* But we were ſo baffled with the contrary and variable winds, which for all that time perplexed us, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth part of the way. The delay alone would have been a ſufficient mortification; but there were other circumſtances attending it, which rendered this ſituation not leſs terrible, and our apprehenſions perhaps ſtill greater than in any of our paſt diſtreſſes. For our two ſhips were by this time extremely crazy; and many days had not paſſed, before we diſcovered a ſpring in the foremaſt of the *Centurion*, which rounded about twenty-ſix inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at leaſt four inches deep: And no ſooner had our Carpenters ſecured this with fiſhing it, but the *Glouceſter* made a ſignal of diſtreſs; and we learnt that ſhe had a dangerous ſpring in her main-maſt, twelve feet below the truſſel-trees; ſo that ſhe could not carry any ſail upon it. Our Carpenters, on a ſtrict examination of this maſt, found it ſo very rotten and decayed, that they judged it neceſſary to cut it down as low as it appeared

peared to have been injured; and by this it was reduced to nothing but a ſtump, which ſerved only as a ſtep to the top-maſt. Theſe accidents augmented our delay, and occaſioned us great anxiety about our future ſecurity: For on our leaving the coaſt of *Mexico*, the ſcurvy had begun to make its appearance again amongſt our people; though from our departure from *Juan Fernandes* we had till then enjoyed a moſt uninterrupted ſtate of health. We too well knew the effects of this diſeaſe, from our former fatal experience, to ſuppoſe that any thing but a ſpeedy paſſage could ſecure the greater part of our crew from periſhing by it: And as, after being ſeven weeks at ſea, there did not appear any reaſons that could perſuade us, we were nearer the trade-wind, than when we firſt ſet out; there was no ground for us to ſuppoſe, but our paſſage would prove at leaſt three times as long as we at firſt expected; and conſequently we had the melancholy proſpect, either of dying by the ſcurvy, or periſhing with the ſhip for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed, ſome amongſt us were at firſt willing to believe, that in this warm climate, ſo different from what we felt in paſſing round Cape *Horn*, the violence of this diſeaſe, and its fatality, might be in ſome degree mitigated; as it had not been unuſual to ſuppoſe that its particular virulence in that paſſage was in a great meaſure owing to the ſeverity of the weather: But the havock of the diſtemper, in our preſent circumſtances, ſoon convinced us of the falſity of this ſpeculation; as it likewiſe exploded ſome other opinions, which uſually paſs current about the cauſe and nature of this diſeaſe.

For it has been generally preſumed, that plenty of freſh proviſions, and of water are effectual preventives

ventives of this malady ; but it happened that in the preſent inſtance we had a conſiderable ſtock of freſh proviſions on board, as hogs and fowls, which were taken at *Paita* ; and we beſides almoſt every day caught great abundance of bonito's, dolphins, and albicores ; and the unſettled ſeaſon, which deprived us of the benefit of the trade-wind, proved extremely rainy ; ſo that we were enabled to fill up our water caſk, almoſt as faſt as they were empty ; and each man had five pints of water allowed him every day, during the paſſage. But notwithſtanding this plenty of water, and that the freſh proviſions were diſtributed amongſt the ſick, and the whole crew often fed upon fiſh, yet neither were the ſick hereby relieved, nor the progreſs and advancement of the diſeaſe retarded : Nor was it in theſe inſtances only that we found ourſelves diſappointed ; for though it has been uſually eſteemed a neceſſary piece of management to keep all ſhips, where the crews are large, as clean and airy between decks as poſſible ; and it hath been believed by many, that this particular, if well attended to, would prevent the appearance of the ſcurvy, or at leaſt, mitigate its effects ; yet we obſerved, during the latter part of our run, that though we kept all our ports open, and took uncommon pains in cleanſing and ſweetning the ſhips, yet neither the progreſs, nor the virulence of the diſeaſe were thereby ſenſibly abated.

However, I would not be underſtood to aſſert, that freſh proviſions, plenty of water, and a conſtant freſh ſupply of ſweet air between decks, are matters of no moment : I am, on the contrary, well ſatisfied, that they are all of them articles of great importance,

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and are doubtleſs extremely conducive to the health and vigour of a crew, and may in many caſes prevent the fatal malady we are now ſpeaking of from taking place. All I have aimed at, in what I have advanced, is only to ſhew that in ſome inſtances, both the cure, and prevention of this diſeaſe, is impoſſible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies which can be made uſe of at ſea. Indeed I am myſelf fully perſuaded, that when it has once got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the diſeaſed, but carrying them on ſhore, or at leaſt bringing them into the neighbourhood of land. Perhaps a diſtinct and adequate knowledge of the ſource of this diſeaſe may never be diſcovered; but in general, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that as a continued ſupply of freſh air is neceſſary to all animal life; and as this air is ſo particular a fluid, that without loſing its elaſticity, or any of its obvious properties, it may be rendered unfit for this purpoſe, by the mixing with it ſome very ſubtle and otherwiſe imperceptible effluvia; it may be conceived, I ſay, that the ſteams ariſing from the ocean may have a tendency to render the air they are ſpread through leſs properly adapted to the ſupport of the life of terreſtrial animals, unleſs theſe ſteams are corrected by effluvia of another kind, and which perhaps the land alone can ſupply.

To what hath been already ſaid in relation to this diſeaſe, I ſhall add, that our ſurgeon (who during our paſſage round Cape *Horn*, had aſcribed the mortality we ſuffered to the ſeverity of the climate) exerted himſelf in the preſent run to the utmoſt, and at laſt declared, that all his meaſures were totally

tally ineffectual, and did not in the leaſt avail his patients: On which it was reſolved by the Commodore to try the effects of two medicines, which, juſt before his departure from *England*, were the ſubject of much diſcourſe, I mean the pill and drop of Mr. *Ward*. For however violent the effects of theſe medicines are ſaid to have ſometimes proved, yet in the preſent inſtance, where deſtruction ſeemed inevitable without ſome remedy, the experiment at leaſt was thought adviſeable: And therefore, one or both of them, at different times, were given to perſons in every ſtage of the diſtemper. Out of the numbers that took them, one, ſoon after ſwallowing the pill, was ſeized with a violent bleeding at the noſe: He was before given over by the ſurgeon, and lay almoſt at the point of death; but he immediately found himſelf much better, and continued to recover, though ſlowly, till we arrived on ſhore, which was near a fortnight after. A few others too were relieved for ſome days, but the diſeaſe returned again with as much violence as ever; though neither did theſe, nor the reſt, who received no benefit, appear to be reduced to a worſe condition than they would have been if they had taken nothing. The moſt remarkable property of theſe medicines, and what was obvious in almoſt every one that took them, was, that they operated in proportion to the vigour of the patient; ſo that thoſe that were within two or three days of dying were ſcarcely affected; and as the patient was differently advanced in the diſeaſe, the operation was either a gentle perſpiration, an eaſy vomit, or a moderate purge: But if they were taken by one in full ſtrength, they then produced all the beforementioned effects with conſiderable violence, which

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ſometimes continued for ſix or eight hours together, with little intermiſſion. But to return to the proſecution of our voyage.

I have already obſerved, that, a few days after our running off the coaſt of *Mexico*, the *Glouceſter* had her main maſt cut down to a ſtump, and we were obliged to fiſh our fore-maſt; and that theſe misfortunes were greatly aggravated, by our meeting with contrary and variable winds for near ſeven weeks. I ſhall now add, that when we reached the trade-wind, and it ſettled between the North and the Eaſt, yet it ſeldom blew with ſo much ſtrength, but the *Centurion* might have carried all her ſmall ſails abroad with the greateſt ſafety; ſo that now, had we been a ſingle ſhip, we might have run down our longitude apace, and have reached the *Ladrones* ſoon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterwards periſhed. But the *Glouceſter*, by the loſs of her main-maſt, ſailed ſo very heavily, that we had ſeldom any more than our top-ſails ſet, and yet were frequently obliged to lie too for her: And, I conceive, that in the whole we loſt little leſs than a month by our attendance upon her, in conſequence of the various miſchances ſhe encountered. In all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together, without ſeeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are many iſlands, or at leaſt rocks, ſcattered all along, at no very conſiderable diſtance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in the *Spaniſh* chart, hereafter inſerted; but the frequency of the birds ſeem to evince, that there are many more than have been hitherto diſcovered: For the greateſt part of the birds, we obſerved, were ſuch

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as are known to rooſt on ſhore; and the manner of their appearance ſufficiently made out, they they came from ſome diſtant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening; for we never ſaw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which we ſuppoſed was occaſioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us without any fluctuation, from the end of *June* till towards the end of *July*. But on the 26th of *July*, being then, as we eſteemed, about three hundred leagues diſtant from the *Ladrones*, we met with a weſterly wind, which did not come about again to the eaſtward in four days time. This was a moſt diſpiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of ſpeedy relief, eſpecially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the *Glouceſter*: For in one part of theſe four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ſhips rolled very deep; by which means the *Glouceſter*'s forecap ſplit, and her top-maſt came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the ſlings. As ſhe was hereby rendered incapable of making any ſail for ſome time, we were obliged, as ſoon as a gale ſprung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthieſt and ableſt of our ſeamen were taken from the buſineſs of our own ſhip, and were employed for eight or ten days together on board the *Glouceſter* in repairing her damages: But theſe things, mortifying, as we thought them, were but the beginning of our diſaſters; for ſcarce had our people finiſhed their buſineſs in the *Glouceſter*, before we met with a moſt violent ſtorm in the weſtern board, which obliged us to lie to. In

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the beginning of this ſtorm our ſhip ſprung a leak, and let in ſo much water, that all our people, officers included, were employed continually in working the pumps: And the next day we had the vexation to ſee the *Glouceſter*, with her top-maſt once more by the board; and whilſt we were viewing her with great concern for this new diſtreſs, we ſaw her main-top maſt, which had hitherto ſerved as a jury main-maſt, ſhare the ſame fate. This compleated our misfortunes, and rendered them without reſource; for we knew the *Glouceſter*'s crew were ſo few and feeble, that without our aſſiſtance they could not be relieved: And our ſick were now ſo far encreaſed, and thoſe that remained in health ſo continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impoſſible for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprized of the deplorable ſituation of the *Glouceſter*'s crew; for when the ſtorm abated, (which during its continuance prevented all communication with them) the *Glouceſter* bore up under our ſtern; and Captain *Michel* informed the Commodore, that beſides the loſs of his maſts, which was all that had appeared to us, the ſhip had then no leſs than ſeven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept conſtantly at the pump for the laſt twenty-four hours.

This laſt circumſtance was indeed a moſt terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary diſtreſſes of the *Glouceſter*, and required, if poſſible, the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous aſſiſtance; which Captain *Mitchel* begged the Commodore to ſend him: But the debility of our people, and our own immediate preſervation, rendered it impoſ-

ſible for the Commodore to comply with his requeſt. All that could be done was to ſend our boat on board for a more particular condition of the ſhip; and it was ſoon ſuſpected that the taking her people on board us, and then deſtroying her, was the only meaſure that could be proſecuted in the preſent emergency, both for the ſecurity of their lives and of our own.

Our boat ſoon returned with a repreſentation of the ſtate of the *Glouceſter*, and of her ſeveral defects, ſigned by Captain *Mitchel* and all his officers; by which it appeared, that ſhe had ſprung a leak by the ſtern-poſt being looſe, and working with every roll of the ſhip, and by two beams a midſhips being broken in the orlope; no part of which the Carpenters reported was poſſible to be repaired at ſea: That both officers and men had worked twenty-four hours at the pump without intermiſſion, and were at length ſo fatigued, that they could continue their labour no longer; but had been forced to deſiſt, with ſeven feet of water in the hold, which covered their caſk, ſo that they could neither come at freſh water, nor proviſion: That they had no maſt ſtanding, except the fore-maſt, the mizen-maſt, and the mizen top-maſt, nor had they any ſpare maſts to get up in the room of thoſe they had loſt: That the ſhip was beſides extremely decayed in every part, for her knees and clamps were all worked quite looſe, and her upper works in general were ſo looſe, that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down: And that her crew was greatly reduced, for there remained alive on board her no more than ſeventy-ſeven men, eighteen boys, and two priſoners, officers included; and that of this whole number,

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only ſixteen men, and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, and ſeveral of theſe very infirm.

The Commodore, on the peruſal of this melancholy repreſentation, preſently ordered them a ſupply of water and proviſions, of which they ſeemed to be in immediate want, and at the ſame time ſent his own Carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the ſtricteſt enquiry, that the preceding account was in no inſtance exaggerated, it plainly appeared, that there was no poſſibility of preſerving the *Glouceſter* any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ſhips, capable of working, would not be able to free her, even if our own ſhip ſhould not employ any part of them. What then could be reſolved on, when it was the utmoſt we ourſelves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only ſtep to be taken was, the ſaving the lives of the few that remained on board the *Glouceſter*, and getting out of her as much as was poſſible before ſhe was deſtroyed. And therefore the Commodore immediately ſent an order to Captain *Mitchel*, as the weather was now calm and favourable, to ſend his people on board the *Centurion* as expeditiouſly as he could; and to take out ſuch ſtores as he could get at, whilſt the ſhip could be kept above water. And as our leak required leſs attention, whilſt the preſent eaſy weather continued, we ſent our boats, with as many men as we could ſpare, to Captain *Michel*'s aſſiſtance.

The removing the *Glouceſter*'s people on board us, and the getting out ſuch ſtores as could moſt eaſily

be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr. *Anſon* was extremely deſirous to have gotten two of her cables and an anchor, but the ſhip rolled ſo much, and the Men were ſo exceſſively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greateſt difficulty that the prize-money, which the *Glouceſter* had taken in the *South-Seas*, was ſecured, and ſent on board the *Centurion*: However, the prize-goods on board her, which amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds in value, and were principally the *Centurion*'s property, were entirely loſt; nor could any more proviſion be got out than five caſk of flower, three of which were ſpoiled by the ſalt-water. Their ſick men amounting to near ſeventy, were removed into boats with as much care as the circumſtances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoiſting them into the *Centurion*.

It was the 15th of *Auguſt*, in the evening, before the *Glouceſter* was cleared of every thing that was propoſed to be removed; and though the hold was now almoſt full of water, yet, as the Carpenters were of opinion that ſhe might ſtill ſwim for ſome time, if the calm ſhould continue, and the water become ſmooth, ſhe was ſet on fire; for we knew not how near we might be to the Iſland of *Guam*, which was in the poſſeſſion of our enemies, and the wreck of ſuch a ſhip would have been to them no contemptible acquiſition. When ſhe was ſet on fire, Captain *Mitchel* and his officers left her, and came on board the *Centurion*: And we immediately ſtood from the wreck, not without ſome apprehenſions (as we had now only a light breeze) that if ſhe blew up ſoon, the concuſſion

cuſſion of the air might damage our rigging; but ſhe fortunately burnt, though very fiercely, the whole night, her guns firing ſucceſſively, as the flames reached them. And it was ſix in the morning, when we were about four leagues diſtant, before ſhe blew up; the report ſhe made upon this occaſion was but a ſmall one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of ſmoke, which ſhot up into the air to a very conſiderable height.

Thus periſhed his Majeſty's ſhip the *Glouceſter*. And now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarraſments which her frequent diſaſters had involved us in, we might proceed on our way much briſker than we had hitherto done, eſpecially as we had received ſome ſmall addition to our ſtrength, by the taking on board the *Glouceſter*'s crew; but our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; for, notwithſtanding all that we had hitherto ſuffered, there remained much greater diſtreſſes, which we were ſtill to ſtruggle with. For the late ſtorm, which had proved ſo fatal to the *Glouceſter*, had driven us to the northward of our intended courſe; and the current ſetting the ſame way, after the weather abated, had forced us ſtill a degree or two farther, ſo that we were now in $17^{\circ}\ \frac{1}{4}$ of North latitude, inſtead of being in $13^{\circ}\ \frac{1}{4}$, which was the parallel we propoſed to keep, in order to reach the Iſland of *Guam*: And as it had been a perfect calm for ſome days ſince the ceſſation of the ſtorm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the *Ladrones*, and ſuppoſed ourſelves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without diſcovering them: In this caſe, the only

land we could make would be ſome of the eaſtern parts of *Aſia*, where, if we could arrive, we ſhould find the weſtern monſoon in its full force, ſo that it would be impoſſible for the ſtouteſt beſt-manned ſhip to get in. And this coaſt being removed between four and five hundred leagues farther, we, in our languiſhing circumſtances, could expect no other than to be deſtroyed by the ſcurvy, long before the moſt favourable gale could carry us to ſuch a diſtance: For our deaths were now extremely alarming, no day paſſing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and ſometimes twelve of our men; and thoſe who had hitherto continued healthy, began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the beſt uſe we could of the preſent calm, by employing our Carpenters in ſearching after the leak, which was now conſiderable, notwithſtanding the little wind we had: The Carpenters at length diſcovered it to be in the Gunner's fore ſtore-room, where the water ruſhed in under the breaſt-hook, on each ſide of the ſtem; but though they found where it was, they agreed that it was impoſſible to ſtop it, till we ſhould get into port, and till they could come at it on the outſide: However, they did the beſt they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a conſiderable relief to us.

We had hitherto conſidered the calm which ſucceeded the ſtorm, and which continued for ſome days, as a very great misfortune; ſince the currents were driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby riſqued the miſſing of the *Ladrones*, which we now conceived ourſelves to be very near. But when a gale ſprung up, our condition was ſtill worſe; for it blew from the S. W, and

and consequently was directly opposed to the course we wanted to steer: And though it soon veered to the N. E, yet this served only to tantalize us, for it returned back again in a very short time to its old quarter. However, on the 22d of *August*, we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted; and had set us to the Southward: And the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands in the western board: This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this an universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again: The nearest of these Islands we afterwards found to be *Anatacan*; we judged it to be full fifteen leagues from us, and it seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length: The other was the Island of *Serigan*; and had rather the appearance of a high rock, than a place we could hope to anchor at. The View of these Islands is inserted at the top of the thirty-third plate. We were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest Island, where we expected to meet with anchoring-ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick: But the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly; however, by the next morning we were got so far to the westward, that we were in view of a third Island, which was that of *Paxaros*, though marked in the chart only as a rock. This was small and very low land, and we had passed within less than a mile of it, in the night, without seeing it: And now at noon, being within four miles of the Island of *Anatacan*, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring-ground and the produce of the place; and we

were not a little ſolicitous for her return, as we then conceived our fate to depend upon the report we ſhould receive: For the other two Iſlands were obviouſly enough incapable of furniſhing us with any aſſiſtance, and we knew not then that there were any others which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no place for a ſhip to anchor, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all, except one ſmall ſpot, not leſs than fifty fathom in depth; that on that ſpot there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the ſhore; and that the bank was ſteep too, and could not be depended on: They farther told us, that they had landed on the Iſland, but with ſome difficulty, on account of the greatneſs of the ſwell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of cane, or ruſh; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the ſoil was good, and abounded with groves of coco-nut-trees.

This account of the impoſſibility of anchoring at this Iſland, occaſioned a general melancholy on board; for we conſidered it as little leſs than the prelude to our deſtruction; and our deſpondency was encreaſed by a diſappointment we met with the ſucceeding night; for, as we were plying under top-ſails, with an intention of getting nearer to the Iſland, and of ſending our boat on ſhore to load with coco-nuts, for the refreſhment of our ſick, the wind proved ſqually, and blew ſo ſtrong off ſhore, that we were driven ſo far to the Southward, that we dared not to ſend off our boat. And now the only poſſible circumſtance that could ſecure the few which remained alive from periſhing, was

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the accidental falling in with ſome other of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, better prepared for our accommodation; and as our knowledge of theſe Iſlands was extremely imperfect, we were to truſt entirely to chance for our guidance; only as they are all of them uſually laid down near the ſame meridian, and we had conceived thoſe we had already ſeen to be part of them, we concluded to ſtand to the ſouthward, as the moſt probable means of falling in with the next. Thus, with the moſt gloomy perſuaſion of our approaching deſtruction, we ſtood from the Iſland of *Anatacan*, having all of us the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions (and thoſe not ill founded) either of dying of the ſcurvy, or of periſhing with the ſhip, which for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a ſhort time be expected to founder.

CHAP. II.

Our arrival at *Tinian*, and an account of the Iſland, and of our proceedings there, till the *Centurion* drove out to ſea.

IT was the 26th of *Auguſt* 1742, in the morning, when we loſt ſight of *Anatacan*. The next morning we diſcovered three other Iſlands to the eaſtward, which were from ten to fourteen leagues from us. Theſe were, as we afterwards learnt, the Iſlands of *Saypan*, *Tinian*, and *Aguigan*. We immediately ſteered towards *Tinian*, which was the middlemoſt of the three, but had ſo much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forwards by the currents, yet next day, at day-break,

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we were at leaſt five leagues diſtant from it. However, we kept on our courſe, and about ten in the morning we perceived a proa under ſail to the ſouthward, between *Tinian* and *Aguigan*. As we imagined from hence that theſe Iſlands were inhabited, and knew that the *Spaniards* had always a force at *Guam*, we took the neceſſary precautions for our own ſecurity, and for preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our preſent wretched circumſtances, of which they would be ſufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ſhip; we therefore muſtered all our hands, who were capable of ſtanding to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grape-ſhot; and that we might the more readily procure ſome intelligence of the ſtate of theſe Iſlands, we ſhowed *Spaniſh* colours, and hoiſted a red flag at the fore top maſt-head, to give our ſhip the appearance of the *Manila* galeon, hoping thereby to decoy ſome of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourſelves, and ſtanding towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to ſend the Cutter on ſhore, to find out a proper birth for the ſhip; and we ſoon perceived that a proa came off the ſhore to meet the Cutter, fully perſuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the *Manila* ſhip. As we ſaw the Cutter returning back with the proa in tow, we immediately ſent the Pinnace to receive the proa and the priſoners, and to bring them on board, that the Cutter might proceed on her errand. The Pinnace came back with a *Spaniard* and four *Indians*, which were the people taken in the proa. The *Spaniard* was immediately examined as to the produce and circumſtances of this Iſland of *Tinian*, and his account of it ſurpaſſed even our moſt ſanguine

guine hopes; for he informed us that it was uninhabited, which, in our preſent defenceleſs condition, was an advantage not to be deſpiſed, eſpecially as it wanted but few of the conveniencies that could be expected in the moſt cultivated country; for he aſſured us, that there was great plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild on the Iſland, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods produced ſweet and ſour oranges, limes, lemons and coco-nuts in great plenty, beſides a fruit peculiar to theſe Iſlands (called by *Dampier*, *Bread-fruit*); that from the quantity and goodneſs of the proviſions produced here, the *Spaniards* at *Guam* made uſe of it as a ſtore for ſupplying the garriſon; that he himſelf was a Serjeant of that garriſon, and was ſent here with twenty-two *Indians* to jerk beef, which he was to load for *Guam* on board a ſmall bark of about fifteen tun, which lay at anchor near the ſhore.

This account was received by us with inexpreſſible joy: Part of it we were ourſelves able to verify on the ſpot, as we were by this time near enough to diſcover ſeveral numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the Iſland; and we did not any ways doubt the reſt of his relation, as the appearance of the ſhore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our neceſſities might be there fully relieved, and our diſeaſed recovered, but that, amidſt thoſe pleaſing ſcenes which were then in view, we might procure ourſelves ſome amuſement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone; For the proſpect of the country did by no means reſemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much

much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and ſtately woods had been laid out together with great ſkill, and where the whole had been ſo artfully combined, and ſo judiciouſly adapted to the ſlopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a moſt ſtriking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus, (an event not unlike what we had already ſeen) we were forced upon the moſt deſirable and ſalutary meaſures by accidents, which at firſt ſight we conſidered as the greateſt of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our courſe, (a circumſtance, which at that time gave us the moſt terrible apprehenſions) we ſhould, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful Iſland, and conſequently, we ſhould have miſſed of that place, where alone all our wants could be moſt amply relieved, our ſick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreſhed, and enabled to put again to ſea.

The *Spaniſh* Serjeant, from whom we received the account of the Iſland, having informed us that there were ſome *Indians* on ſhore under his command employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were deſirous, if poſſible, to prevent the *Indians* from eſcaping, who doubtleſs would have given the Governor of *Guam* intelligence of our arrival; and we therefore immediately diſpatched the Pinnace to ſecure the bark, which the Serjeant told us was the only imbarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom; and though it was almoſt calm, and whatever vigour and ſpirit was to be found on board

board was doubtleſs exerted to the utmoſt on this pleaſing occaſion, when, after having kept the ſea for ſome months, we were going to take poſſeſſion of this little paradiſe, yet we were full five hours in furlings our ſails: It is true, we were ſomewhat weakened by the crews of the Cutter and Pinnace which were ſent on ſhore; but it is not leſs true, that, including thoſe abſent with the boats and ſome Negroe and *Indian* priſoners, all the hands we could muſter capable of ſtanding at a gun amounted to no more than ſeventy-one, moſt of which number too were incapable of duty; but on the greateſt emergencies this was all the force we could collect, in our preſent enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the *Centurion*, the *Glouceſter*, and the *Tryal*, which, when we departed from *England*, conſiſted all together of near a thouſand hands.

When we had furled our ſails, the remaining part of the night was allowed to our people for their repoſe, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone; and in the morning a party was ſent on ſhore well armed, of which I myſelf was one, to make ourſelves maſters of the landing place, as we were not certain what oppoſition might be made by the *Indians* on the Iſland: We landed without difficulty, for the *Indians* having perceived, by our ſeizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the Iſland. We found on ſhore many huts which they had inhabited, and which ſaved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of theſe huts which the *Indians* made uſe of for a ſtore-houſe was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad; this we immediately clear-

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ed of ſome bales of jerked beef, which we found in it, and converted it into an hoſpital for our ſick, who aſſoon as the place was ready to receive them were brought on ſhore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight: Numbers of theſe were ſo very helpleſs, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hoſpital upon our ſhoulders, in which humane employment (as before at *Juan Fernandes*) the Commodore himſelf, and every one of his officers, were engaged without diſtinction; and, notwithſtanding the great debility and the dying aſpects of the greateſt part of our ſick, it is almoſt incredible how ſoon they began to feel the ſalutary influence of the land; for, though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceeding day, yet we did not loſe above ten men more during our whole two months ſtay here; and in general, our diſeaſed received ſo much benefit from the fruits of the Iſland, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few who were not ſo far recovered, as to be able to move about without help.

And now being in ſome ſort eſtabliſhed at this place, we were enabled more particularly to examine its qualities and productions; and that the reader may the better judge of our manner of life here, and future Navigators be better apprized of the conveniencies we met with, I ſhall, before I proceed any farther in the hiſtory of our own adventures, throw together the moſt intereſting particulars that came to our knowledge, in relation to the ſituation, ſoil, produce, and conveniencies of this Iſland of *Tinian*.

This Iſland lies in the latitude 50° ; 8′ North, and longitude from *Acapulco* 114° : 50′ Weſt. Its length

length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S. S. W. to N. N. E. The ſoil is every where dry and healthy, and ſomewhat ſandy, which being leſs diſpoſed than other ſoils to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation, occaſions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and ſmoother than is cuſtomary in hot climates. The land riſes by eaſy ſlopes, from the very beach where we watered to the middle of the Iſland; though the general courſe of its aſcent is often interrupted and traverſed by gentle deſcents and vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by the different combinations of theſe gradual ſwellings of the ground, are moſt beautifully diverſified with large lawns, which are covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are ſkirted by woods of tall and well-ſpread trees, moſt of them celebrated either for their aſpect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods in many places clear of all buſhes and underwoods; and the woods themſelves uſually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confuſed with ſtraggling trees, but appearing as uniform, as if laid out by art. Hence aroſe a great variety of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects formed by the mixture of theſe woods and lawns, and their various interſections with each other, as they ſpread themſelves differently through the vallies, and over the ſlopes and declivities with which the place abounds. The fortunate animals too, which for the greateſt part of the year are the ſole lords of this happy ſoil, partake in ſome meaſure of the romantic caſt of the Iſland, and are no ſmall addition to its wonderful ſcenary: For

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the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to ſee herds of ſome thouſands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the moſt remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domeſtic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the chearfulneſs and beauty of the place. The cattle on the Iſland we computed were at leaſt ten thouſand; and we had no difficulty in getting near them, as they were not ſhy of us. Our firſt method of killing them was ſhooting them; but at laſt, when, by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to huſband our ammunition, our men ran them down with eaſe. Their fleſh was extremely well taſted, and was believed by us to be much more eaſily digeſted, than any we had ever met with. The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewiſe run down with little trouble; for they could ſcarce fly further than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them ſo much, that they could not readily riſe again; ſo that, aided by the openneſs of the woods, we could at all times furniſh ourſelves with whatever number we wanted. Beſides the cattle and the poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: Theſe were moſt excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to ſhoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the Iſland amaſſing proviſions for the garriſon of *Guam*. As theſe dogs had been purpoſely trained

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to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but tho' they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with ſo much fury, that they frequently deſtroyed them, ſo that we by degrees loſt the greateſt part of them.

But this place was not only extremely grateful to us from the plenty and excellency of its freſh proviſions, but was as much perhaps to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were moſt fortunately adapted to the cure of the ſea ſcurvy, which had ſo terribly reduced us. For in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoanuts, with the cabbages growing on the ſame tree: There were beſide, guavoes, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges, and a kind of fruit, peculiar to theſe Iſlands, called by the *Indians*, *Rima*, but by us the *Bread-Fruit*, for it was conſtantly eaten by us during our ſtay upon the Iſland inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it, that no ſhip's bread was expended during that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is ſomewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and ſpreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itſelf grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in ſhape rather eliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long; each of them grows ſingly and not in cluſters. This fruit is fitteſt to be uſed, when it is full grown, but is ſtill green; in which ſtate, its taſte has ſome diſtant reſemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpungy. As it ripens it grows ſofter and of a yellow colour, and

then contracts a luſcious taſte, and an agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes. In the view of the watering place, (Plate XXXIV) there is drawn one of the trees bearing this fruit, it being that marked with the letter *(c)*. Beſides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under, ſuch as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purſlain, mint, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel; all which, together with the freſh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerneſs, prompted thereto by the ſtrong inclination, which nature never fails of exciting in ſcorbutic diſorders for the powerful ſpecifics.

It will eaſily be conceived from what hath been already ſaid, that our cheer upon this Iſland was in ſome degree luxurious, but I have not yet recited all the varieties of proviſion which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abſtain from fiſh, the few we caught at our firſt arrival having ſurfeited thoſe who eat of them; but conſidering how much we had been inured to that ſpecies of food, we did not regard this circumſtance as a diſadvantage, eſpecially as the defect was ſo amply ſupplied by the beef, pork and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for I muſt obſerve, that near the center of the Iſland there were two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew: Not to mention the whiſtling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

And now perhaps it may be wondered at, that an Iſland, ſo exquiſitely furniſhed with the conveniencies of life, and ſo well adapted, not only to the ſubſiſtence,

ſubſiſtence, but likewiſe to the enjoyment of mankind, ſhould be entirely deſtitute of inhabitants, eſpecially as it is in the neighbourhood of other Iſlands, which in ſome meaſure depend upon this for their ſupport. To obviate this difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that it is not fifty years ſince the Iſland was depopulated. The *Indians* we had in our cuſtody aſſured us, that formerly the three Iſlands of *Tinian*, *Rota* and *Guam*, were all full of inhabitants; and that *Tinian* alone contained thirty thouſand ſouls: But a ſickneſs raging amongſt theſe Iſlands, which deſtroyed multitudes of the people, the *Spaniards*, to recruit their numbers at *Guam*, which were greatly diminiſhed by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of *Tinian* thither; where, languiſhing for their former habitations, and their cuſtomary method of life, the greateſt part of them in a few years died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever ſhown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it ſhould ſeem, from what has been already ſaid, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of *Tinian*.

Theſe poor *Indians* might reaſonably have expected, at the great diſtance from *Spain*, where they were placed, to have eſcaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, ſo fatal to a large proportion of the whole human race: But it ſeems their remote ſituation could not protect them from ſharing in the common deſtruction of the weſtern world, all the advantage they received from their diſtance being only to periſh an age or two later. It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of *Tinian*, who were baniſhed to *Guam*, and who died there pining for their native home,

was so great, as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent assertion of our prisoners, and the commodiousness of the Island, and its great fertility, there are still remains to be met with on the place, which evince it to have been once extremely populous: For there are, in all parts of the Island, a great number of ruins of a very particular kind; they usually consist of two rows of square pyramidal pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet; the pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a semi-globe, with the flat part upwards; the whole of the pillars and semi-globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented together, and plaistered over. This odd fabric will be better understood, by inspecting the view of the watering place already referred to, where an assemblage of these pillars is drawn, and is denoted by the letter (*a*). If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the Island must indeed have been extremely populous; for they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those *Indians* only, who had engaged in some religious vow; and monastic institutions are often to be met with in many Pagan nations. However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have been considerable; for in many parts of the island they are extremely thick planted, and sufficiently evince the great plenty of former inhabitants. But to return to the present state of the Island.

Having

Having mentioned the conveniencies of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and proviſions, the neatneſs of its lawns, the ſtatelineſs, freſhneſs, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its ſurface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded, I muſt now obſerve that all theſe advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthineſs of its climate, by the almoſt conſtant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent ſhowers which fall, and which, though of a very ſhort and almoſt momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreſhing, and are perhaps one cauſe of the ſalubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was obſerved to have upon us, in increaſing and invigorating our appetites and digeſtion. This was ſo remarkable, that thoſe amongſt our officers, who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, who, beſides a ſlight breakfaſt, made but one moderate repaſt a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh-meal, they were now ſcarcely ſatisfied with three, and each of them ſo prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a ſurfeit: And yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded with the keeneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered nor even loaded by this repletion; for after having, according to the cuſtom of the Iſland, made a large beef breakfaſt, it was not long before we began to conſider the approach of dinner as a very deſirable, though ſomewhat tardy incident.

And now having been thus large in my encomiums on this Iſland, in which however, I conceive, I have not done it juſtice, it is neceſſary I

ſhould ſpeak of thoſe circumſtances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility.

And firſt, with reſpect to its water, I muſt own, that before I had ſeen this ſpot, I did not conceive that the abſence of running water, of which it is entirely deſtitute, could have been ſo well replaced by any other means, as it is in this Iſland; for though there are no ſtreams, yet the water of the wells and ſprings, which are to be met with every where near the ſurface, is extremely good; and in the midſt of the Iſland there are two or three conſiderable pieces of excellent water, whoſe edges are as neat and even, as if they had been baſons purpoſely made for the decoration of the place. It muſt however be confeſſed, that with regard to the beauty of the proſpects, the want of rills and ſtreams is a very great defect, not to be compenſated either by large pieces of ſtanding water, or by the neighbourhood of the ſea, though that, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of the iſland, generally makes a part of every extenſive view.

As to the reſidence upon the Iſland, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vaſt numbers of muſcatos, and various other ſpecies of flies, together with an inſect called a tick, which, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently faſten upon our limbs and bodies, and if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the ſkin, and raiſe a painful inflammation. We found here too centipeds and ſcorpions, which we ſuppoſed were venemous, but none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the moſt important and formidable exception to this place remains ſtill to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little ſecu-

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rity there is at ſome ſeaſons for a ſhip at anchor. The only proper anchoring place for ſhips of burthen is at the S. W. end of the Iſland. As a direction for readily finding it, there is in the thirty-fifth plate a very accurate view of the S. W. ſide of the Iſland, were (*a*) is the peak of *Saypan*, ſeen over the northern part of *Tinian*, and bearing N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. And (*b*) is the anchoring place, diſtant eight miles from the obſerver. And as an additional aſſiſtance, there is alſo added in the thirty-ſixth plate a near view of the anchoring place itſelf, which repreſents it ſo exactly, that none hereafter can poſſibly miſtake it. In this place the *Centurion* anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, oppoſite to a ſandy bay, and about a mile and an half diſtant from the ſhore. The bottom of this road is full of ſharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of *June* to the middle of *October*, renders it a very unſafe place to lie at. This is the ſeaſon of the weſtern monſoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is uſually variable all round the compaſs, and ſeldom fails to blow with ſuch fury, that the ſtouteſt cables are not to be confided in; what adds to the danger at theſe times, is the exceſſive rapidity of the tide of flood which ſets to the S. E. between this iſland and that of *Aguiguan*, a ſmall Iſland near the ſouthern extremity of *Tinian*, which is repreſented in the general chart, hereafter inſerted, only by a dot. This tide runs at firſt with a vaſt head and overfall of water, and occaſions ſuch a hollow and overgrown ſea, as is ſcarcely to be conceived; ſo that (as will be hereafter more particularly mentioned) we were under the

dreadful apprehenſion of being pooped by it, though we were in a ſixty gun ſhip. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of *October* to the middle of *June*, there is a conſtant ſeaſon of ſettled weather, when, if the cables are but well armed, there is ſcarcely any danger of their being ſo much as rubbed: So that during all that interval, it is as ſecure a road as could be wiſhed for. I ſhall only add, that the anchoring bank is very ſhelving, and ſtretches along the S. W. end of the iſland, and that it is entirely free from ſhoals, except a reef of rocks which is viſible, and lies about half a mile from the ſhore, and affords a narrow paſſage into a ſmall ſandy bay, which is the only place where boats can poſſibly land. After this account of the iſland, and its produce, it is neceſſary to return to our own hiſtory.

Our firſt undertaking, after our arrival, was the removal of our ſick on ſhore, as hath been mentioned. Whilſt we were thus employed, four of the *Indians* on ſhore, being part of the *Spaniſh* ſerjeant's detachment, came and ſurrendered themſelves to us, ſo that with thoſe we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our cuſtody. One of the four, who ſubmitted, undertook to ſhow us the moſt convenient place for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that ſervice; but one of them unwarily truſting the *Indian* with his firelock and piſtol, the *Indian* eſcaped with them into the woods: His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehenſive of ſuffering for this perfidy of their comrade, and therefore begged leave to ſend one of their own party into the country, who they engaged ſhould both bring back the arms, and perſuade the whole detachment from

Guam

Guam to ſubmit to us. The Commodore granted their requeſt; and one of them was diſpatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and piſtol, but aſſured us, he had met with them in a path way in the wood, and proteſted that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen: This report had ſo little the air of truth, that we ſuſpected there was ſome treachery carrying on, and therefore to prevent any future communication among them, we immediately ordered all the *Indians* who were in our power on board the ſhip, and did not permit them to return any more on ſhore.

When our ſick were well ſettled on the Iſland, we employed all the hands that could be ſpared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, ſeveral fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which here abounded: And this being compleated, our next attention was our leak, and in order to raiſe it out of water, we, on the firſt of *September*, began to get the guns aft to bring the ſhip by the ſtern; and now the Carpenters, being able to come at it on the outſide, ripped off the old ſheathing that was left, and caulked all the ſeams on both ſides the cut-water, and leaded them over, and then new ſheathed the bows to the ſurface of the water: By this means we conceived the defect was ſufficiently ſecured; but upon our beginning to bring the guns into their places, we had the mortification to perceive, that the water ruſhed into the ſhip in the old place, with as much violence as ever: Hereupon we were neceſſitated to begin again; and that our ſecond attempt might be more effectual, we cleared the fore ſtore-room, and ſent a

hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the ſmall *Spaniſh* bark we had ſeized here, by which means we raiſed the ſhip about three feet out of the water forwards, and the Carpenters ripped off the ſheathing lower down, and new caulked all the ſeams, and afterwards laid on new ſheathing; and then, ſuppoſing the leak to be effectually ſtopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but the upper deck guns were ſcarcely in their places, when, to our amazement, it burſt out again; and now, as we durſt not cut away the lining within board, leaſt a but-end or a plank might ſtart, and we might go down immediately, we had no other reſource left than chincing and caulking within board: and indeed by this means the leak was ſtopped for ſome time; but when our guns were all in their places, and our ſtores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the ſtem, where one of the bolts were driven in; and on this we deſiſted from all farther efforts, being now well aſſured, that the defect was in the ſtem itſelf, and that it was not to be remedied till we ſhould have an opportunity of heaving down.

Towards the middle of *September*, ſeveral of our ſick were tolerably recovered by their reſidence on ſhore; and, on the 12th of *September*, all thoſe who were ſo far relieved, ſince their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were ſent on board the ſhip: And then the Commodore, who was himſelf ill of the ſcurvy, had a tent erected for him on ſhore, where he went with the view of ſtaying a few days for the recovery of his health, being convinced by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be truſted to for the removal of this dreadful malady.

lady. The place, where his tent was pitched on this occaſion, was near the well, whence we got all our water, and was indeed a moſt elegant ſpot. A view of it hath been already referred to under the title of the watering place, where (*b*) is the Commodore's tent, and (*d*) the well where we watered.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the Iſland, we began to ſend our caſk on ſhore to be fitted up, which till now could not be done, for the Coopers were not well enough to work. We likewiſe weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we ſuſpected had by this time received conſiderable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater ſecurity, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; and they were beſides cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and ſeven fathom from the ſervice, with a good rounding of a 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch hawſer; and to all theſe precautions we added that of lowering the main and fore-yard cloſe down, that in caſe of blowing weather the wind might have leſs power upon the ſhip, to make her ride a ſtrain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we expected the new moon, which was the 18th of *September*, and riding ſafe that and the three ſucceeding days, (though the weather proved very ſqually and uncertain) we flattered ourſelves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our meaſures had ſecured us from all accidents; but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eaſtward with ſuch fury, that

that we ſoon deſpaired of riding out the ſtorm; and therefore we ſhould have been extremely glad that the Commodore and the reſt of our people on ſhore, which were the greateſt part of our hands, had been on board with us, ſince our only hopes of ſafety ſeemed to depend on our putting immediately to ſea; but all communication with the ſhore was now effectually cut off, for there was no poſſibility that a boat could live, ſo that we were neceſſitated to ride it out, till our cables parted. Indeed it was not long before this happened, for the ſmall bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ſhip ſwung off to the beſt bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind ſtill increaſed; but notwithſtanding its inexpreſſible fury, the tide ran with ſo much rapidity, as to prevail over it; for the tide having ſet to the northward in the beginning of the ſtorm, turned ſuddenly to the ſouthward about ſix in the evening, and forced the ſhip before it in deſpight of the ſtorm, which blew upon the beam: And now the ſea broke moſt ſurprizingly all round us, and a large tumbling ſwell threatened to poop us; the long boat, which was at this time moored a-ſtern, was on a ſudden canted ſo high, that it broke the tranſom of the Commodore's gallery, whoſe cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtleſs have riſen as high as the tafferel, had it not been for this ſtroke which ſtove the boat all to pieces; but the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruiſed, was ſaved almoſt by miracle. About eight, the tide ſlackened, but the wind did not abate; ſo that at eleven, the beſt bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted. Our ſheet anchor, which was the only one we had left, was inſtantly cut from the bow; but

but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with ſixty fathom of line: This was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us. In this preſſing danger, Mr. *Saumarez*, our firſt Lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered ſeveral guns to be fired, and lights to be ſhown, as a ſignal to the Commodore of our diſtreſs; and in a ſhort time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night exceſſively dark, a ſtrong guſt, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to ſea, leaving behind us, on the Iſland, Mr. *Anſon*, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to an hundred and thirteen perſons. Thus were we all, both at ſea and on ſhore, reduced to the utmoſt deſpair by this cataſtrophe, thoſe on ſhore conceiving they had no means left them ever to leave the Iſland, and we on board utterly unprepared to ſtruggle with the fury of the ſeas and winds, we were now expoſed to, and expecting each moment to be our laſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions at *Tinian* after the departure of the *Centurion*.

THE ſtorm, which drove the *Centurion* to ſea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore or any of the people on ſhore to hear the guns, which ſhe fired as ſignals of diſtreſs; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the exploſions from being obſerved: So that, when at day-break, it was perceived from the ſhore that the ſhip was miſſing, there was the utmoſt conſternation amongſt them: For much the greateſt part of them immediately concluded that ſhe was loſt, and intreated the Commodore that the boat might be ſent round the Iſland to look for the wreck; and thoſe who believed her ſafe, had ſcarcely any expectation that ſhe would ever be able to make the Iſland again: For the wind continued to blow ſtrong at Eaſt, and they knew how poorly ſhe was manned and provided for ſtruggling with ſo tempeſtuous a gale. And if the *Centurion* was loſt, or ſhould be incapable of returning, there appeared in either caſe no poſſibility of their ever getting off the Iſland: For they were at leaſt ſix hundred leagues from *Macao*, which was their neareſt port; and they were maſters of no other veſſel than the ſmall *Spaniſh* bark, of about fifteen tun, which they ſeized at their firſt arrival, and which would not even hold a fourth part of their number: And the chance of their being taken off the Iſland by the caſual arri-

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val of any other ſhip was altogether deſperate; as perhaps no *European* ſhip had ever anchored here before, and it were madneſs to expect that like incidents ſhould ſend another here in an hundred ages to come: So that their deſponding thoughts could only ſuggeſt to them the melancholy proſpect of ſpending the remainder of their days on this Iſland, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domeſtic endearments.

Nor was this the worſt they had to fear: For they had reaſon to expect, that the Governor of *Guam*, when he ſhould be informed of their ſituation, might ſend a force ſufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that Iſland; and then, the moſt favourable treatment they could hope for would be to be detained priſoners for life; ſince, from the known policy and cruelty of the *Spaniards* in their diſtant ſettlements, it was rather to be expected, that the Governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commiſſions (all of them being on board the *Centurion*) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy reflections, Mr. *Anſon* had doubtleſs his ſhare of diſquietude; but he always kept up his uſual compoſure and ſteadineſs: And having ſoon projected a ſcheme for extricating himſelf and his men from their preſent anxious ſituation, he firſt communicated it to ſome of the moſt intelligent perſons about him; and having ſatisfied himſelf that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution of it. With this view

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he repreſented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehenſions of the *Centurion*'s being loſt: That he ſhould have hoped, they had been all of them better acquainted with ſea-affairs, than to give way to the impreſſion of ſo chimerical a fright; and that he doubted not, but if they would ſeriouſly conſider what ſuch a ſhip was capable of enduring, they would confeſs that there was not the leaſt probability of her having periſhed: That he was not without hopes that ſhe might return in a a few days; but if ſhe did not, the worſt that could be ſuppoſed, was, that ſhe was driven ſo far to the leeward of the Iſland that ſhe could not regain it, and that ſhe would conſequently be obliged to bear away for *Macao* on the coaſt of *China*: That as it was neceſſary to be prepared againſt all events, he had, in this caſe, conſidered of a method of carrying them off the Iſland, and joining their old ſhip the *Centurion* again at *Macao*: That this method was to hale the *Spaniſh* bark on ſhore, to ſaw her aſunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty tun burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to *China*: That he had conſulted the Carpenters, and they had agreed that this propoſal was very feazible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it, but the united reſolution and induſtry of the whole body; He added, that for his own part, he would ſhare the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the Commodore himſelf, was ready to ſubmit to; and concluded with repreſenting to them the importance of ſaving time; and that, in order to be the better prepared for all events, it was neceſſary to ſet to work immediately, and to take it for granted,

ed, that the *Centurion* would not be able to put back (which was indeed the Commodore's ſecret opinion;) ſince, if ſhe did return, they ſhould only throw away a few days application; but, if ſhe did not, their ſituation, and the ſeaſon of the year, required their utmoſt diſpatch.

Theſe remonſtrances, though not without effect, did not immediately operate ſo powerfully as Mr. *Anſon* could have wiſhed: He indeed raiſed their ſpirits by ſhowing them the poſſibility of their getting away, of which they had before deſpaired; but then, from their confidence of this reſource, they grew leſs apprehenſive of their ſituation, gave a greater ſcope to their hopes, and flattered themſelves that the *Centurion* would return and prevent the execution of the Commodore's ſcheme, which they could eaſily foreſee would be a work of conſiderable labour: By this means, it was ſome days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at laſt, being in general convinced of the impoſſibility of the ſhip's return, they ſet themſelves zealouſly to the different taſks allotted them, and were as induſtrious and as eager as their Commander could deſire, punctually aſſembling at day-break at the rendezvous, whence they were diſtributed to their different employments, which they followed with unuſual vigour 'till night came on.

And here I muſt interrupt the courſe of this tranſaction for a moment, to relate an incident which for ſome time gave Mr. *Anſon* more concern than all the preceding diſaſters. A few days after the ſhip was driven off, ſome of the people on ſhore cried out, *a ſail.* This ſpread a general joy, every one ſuppoſing that it was the ſhip returning.

turning; but preſently, a ſecond ſail was deſcried, which quite deſtroyed their conjecture, and made it difficult to gueſs what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glaſs towards them, and ſaw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him, that the *Centurion* was gone to the botton, and that theſe were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people: And this ſudden and unexpected ſuggeſtion wrought on him ſo powerfully, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without ſpeaking to any one) inſtantly to retire to his tent, where he paſt ſome bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ſhip was loſt, and that now all his views of farther diſtreſſing the enemy, and of ſtill ſignalizing his expedition by ſome important exploit, were at an end.

But he was ſoon relieved from theſe diſturbing thoughts, by diſcovering that the two boats in the offing were *Indian* proas; and perceiving that they ſtood towards the ſhore, he directed every appearance that could give them any ſuſpicion to be removed, and concealed his people, in the adjacent thickets, prepared to ſecure the *Indians* when they ſhould land: But, after the proas had ſtood in within a quarter of a mile of the land, they ſuddenly ſtopt ſhort, and remaining there motionleſs for near two hours, they then made ſail again, and ſtood to the ſouthward. But to return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their ſafety depended, we ſhall find, that, independent of other matters which were of as much importance, the lengthning of the bark alone was at-

tended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the neceſſary materials and tools were to be had, the embarraſment would have been much leſs; but ſome of theſe tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no ſmall degree of invention to ſupply all theſe deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark ſhould be compleated, this was but one article; and there were many others of equal weight, which were to be well conſidered: Theſe were the rigging it, the victualling it, and laſtly, the navigating it, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, through unknown ſeas, where no one of the company had ever paſſed before. In ſome of theſe particulars ſuch obſtacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the poſſibility of the whole enterprize would have fallen to the ground, and their utmoſt induſtry and efforts muſt have been fruitleſs. Of all theſe circumſtances I ſhall make a ſhort recital.

It fortunately happened that the Carpenters, both of the *Glouceſter* and of the *Tryal*, with their cheſts of tools, were on ſhore when the ſhip drove out to ſea; the Smith too was on ſhore, and had with him his forge and ſome tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; ſo that he was incapable of working, and without his aſſiſtance they could not hope to proceed with their deſign. Their firſt attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for ſome time puzzled, by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in ſufficient plenty, and they had found a hogſhead of lime, which the *Indians* or *Spaniards* had prepared for

their own uſe, they tanned ſome hides with this lime; and though we may ſuppoſe the workmanſhip to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus made ſerved tolerably well, and the bellows (to which a gun-barrel ſerved for a pipe) had no other inconvenience, than that of being ſomewhat ſtrong ſcented from the imperfection of the Tanner's work.

Whilſt the Smith was preparing the neceſſary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and ſawing them into plank; and this being the moſt laborious taſk, the Commodore wrought at it himſelf for the encouragement of his people. As there were neither blocks nor cordage ſufficient for tackles to hale the bark on ſhore, it was propoſed to get her up on rollers; and for theſe, the body of the coco-nut tree was extremely uſeful; for its ſmoothneſs and circular turn prevented much labour, and fitted it for the purpoſe with very little workmanſhip: A number of theſe trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the reception of hand-ſpikes; and in the mean time a dry dock was dug for the bark, and ways laid from thence quite into the ſea, to facilitate the bringing her up. And beſides thoſe who were thus occupied in preparing meaſures for the future enlargement of the bark, a party was conſtantly ordered for the killing and preparing of proviſions for the reſt: And though in theſe various employments, ſome of which demanded conſiderable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confuſion and delay; yet, good order being once eſtabliſhed, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the

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common men, I presume, were not the less tractable for their want of spirituous liquors: For, there being neither wine nor brandy on shore, the juice of the coco-nut was their constant drink, and this, though extremely pleasant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very cool and orderly.

And now the officers began to consider of all the articles necessary for fitting out the bark; when it was found, that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the *Centurion*, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would serve to rig her indifferently well, when she was lengthened: And as they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was well adapted to that purpose: So that with respect to her equipment, she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her size: For as they could not make her quite forty tun burthen, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and she would have been so top-heavy, that if they were all at the same time ordered upon deck, there would be no small hazard of her over-setting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was, how to procure a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loss what course to take; for they had neither

grain nor bread of any kind on ſhore, their bread-fruit, which would not keep at ſea, having all all along ſupplied its place : And though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no ſalt to cure beef for a ſea-ſtore, nor would meat take ſalt in that climate. Indeed, they had preſerved a ſmall quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly diſproportioned to the run of near ſix hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they ſhould have on board. It was at laſt, however, reſolved to take on board as many coco-nuts as they poſſibly could ; to make the moſt of their jerked beef, by a very ſparing diſtribution of it ; and to endeavour to ſupply their want of bread by rice ; to furniſh themſelves with which, it was propoſed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the Iſland of *Rota*, where they were told, that the *Spaniards* had large plantations of rice under the care of the *Indian* inhabitants. But as this laſt meaſure was to be executed by force, it became neceſſary to examine what ammunition had been left on ſhore, and to preſerve it carefully ; and on this enquiry, they had the mortification to find, that the utmoſt that could be collected, by the ſtricteſt ſearch, did not amount to more than ninety charges of powder for their firelocks, which was conſiderably ſhort of one a-piece for each of the Company, and was indeed a very ſlender ſtock of ammunition, for ſuch as were to eat no grain or bread for a month, but what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the moſt alarming circumſtance, and what, without the providential interpoſition of very improbable events, had rendered all their ſchemes abortive,

abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the veſſel was ſettled in a few days; and when this was done, it was not difficult to make ſome eſtimation of the time neceſſary to compleat her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would conſider on the courſe they were to ſteer, and the land they were to make. Theſe reflections led them to the diſheartning diſcovery, that there was neither compaſs nor quadrant on the iſland. Indeed the Commodore had brought a pocket-compaſs on ſhore for his own uſe; but Lieutenant *Brett* had borrowed it to determine the poſition of the neighbouring Iſlands, and he had been driven to ſea in the *Centurion*, without returning it: And as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on ſhore, for as it was of no uſe at land, there could be no reaſon for bringing it from on board the ſhip. It was eight days, from the departure of the *Centurion*, before they were in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity: At laſt, in rumaging a cheſt belonging to the *Spaniſh* bark, they found a ſmall compaſs, which, though little better than the toys uſually made for the amuſement of ſchool-boys, was to them an invaluable treaſure. And a few days after, by a ſimilar piece of good fortune, they found a quadrant on the ſea-ſhore, which had been thrown over board amongſt other lumber belonging to the dead. The quadrant was eagerly ſeized, but on examination, it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore in its preſent ſtate was altogether uſeleſs; however, fortune ſtill continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a perſon out of curioſity pulling out the drawer of an old table,

which had been driven on ſhore, found therein ſome vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus compleated, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and was found to anſwer to a ſufficient degree of exactneſs.

And now, all theſe obſtacles being in ſome degree removed, (which were always as much as poſſible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiſs with the apprehenſion of labouring to no purpoſe) the work proceeded very ſucceſsfully and vigorouſly: The neceſſary iron-work was in great forwardneſs; and the timbers and planks (which, though not the moſt exquiſite performances of the Sawyer's art, were yet ſufficient for the purpoſe) were all prepared; ſo that, on the 6th of *October*, being the 14th day from the departure of the ſhip, they haled the bark on ſhore, and, on the two ſucceeding days ſhe was ſawn aſunder, (though with great care not to cut her planks) and her two parts were ſeparated the proper diſtance from each other, and, the materials being all ready before-hand, they, the next day, being the 9th of *October*, went on with great diſpatch in their propoſed enlargement of her; and by this time they had all their future operations ſo fairly in view, and were ſo much maſters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finiſhed, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of *November* for the day of their putting to ſea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a ſpeedier and happier concluſion; for on the 11th of *October*, in the afternoon, one of the *Glouceſter's* men, being upon a hill in the middle of the Iſland, perceived the *Centurion* at a diſtance, and running down with his utmoſt ſpeed towards

towards the landing-place, he, in the way, saw some of his comrades, to whom he hollowed out with great extasy, *The ship, the ship.* This being heard by Mr. *Gordon*, a Lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that his report was true, Mr. *Gordon* ran towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath, easily outstripped the *Glouceſter's* man, and got before him to the Commodore, who, on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved; the others, who were with him, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening, the *Centurion* was visible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she, the next afternoon, happily came to an anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincereſt and heartieſt acclamations: For, from the following short recital of the fears, the dangers and fatigues we in the ship underwent, during our nineteen days absence from *Tinian*, it may be easily conceived, that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our Commander and Shipmates, were not less pleasing to us, than our return was to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings on board the *Centurion*, when driven out to sea.

THE *Centurion* being now once more safely arrived at *Tinian*, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprized of the fatigues and distresses, to which we, who were driven off to sea, were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the Island.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of *September*, about one o'clok, in an extreme dark night, when by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrowds were loose, and our top masts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main-yards close down, before the storm came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board, to navigate the ship, than an hundred and eight hands, several Negroes and *Indians* included: This was scarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being lately recovered

recovered from the ſcurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No ſooner were we at ſea, but by the violence of the ſtorm, and the working of the ſhip, we made a great quantity of water through our hawſe-holes, ports and ſcuppers, which, added to the conſtant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a ſufficient employment for us all. But though this leakage, by being a ſhort time neglected, would inevitably end in our deſtruction; yet we had other dangers then impending, which occaſioned this to be regarded as a ſecondary conſideration only. For we all imagined, that we were driving directly on the neighbouring Iſland of *Aguiguan*, which was about two leagues diſtant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards cloſe down, we had no ſails we could ſet but the mizen, which was altogether inſufficient to carry us clear of this inſtant peril. We therefore immediately applied ourſelves to work, endeavouring, by the utmoſt of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore-yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make uſe of our lower canvaſs, we might poſſibly weather the Iſland, and thereby ſave ourſelves from this impending ſhipwreck. But after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to deſiſt, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable: For we imagined ourſelves by this time, to be driven juſt upon the ſhore, and the night was ſo extremely dark, that we expected to diſcover the Iſland no otherwiſe than by ſtriking upon it; ſo that the belief of our deſtruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occaſioned us to paſs

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ſeveral hours, under the moſt ſerious apprehenſions, that each ſucceeding moment would ſend us to the bottom. Nor did theſe continued terrors, of inſtantly ſtriking and ſinking, end but with the day-break; when we with great tranſport perceived, that the Iſland we had thus dreaded, was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that a ſtrong northern current had been the cauſe of our preſervation.

The turbulent weather, which forced us from *Tinian*, did not begin to abate, 'till three days after; and then we ſwayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard, but the jeers broke and killed one of our men, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of *September*, was a day of moſt ſevere fatigue to us all; for it muſt be remembred, that in theſe exigencies no rank or office exempted any perſon from the manual application and bodily labour of a common ſailor. The buſineſs of this day was no leſs than an attempt to heave up the ſheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preſervation: For, not to mention the impediment to our navigation, and the hazard it would be to our ſhip, if we attempted to make ſail with the anchor in its preſent ſituation, we had this moſt intereſting conſideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left; and, without ſecuring it, we ſhould be under the utmoſt difficulties and hazards, when ever we made the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully apprized of the conſequence of this enterprize, we laboured at it with the ſevereſt application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a conſiderable progreſs, having brought the anchor in ſight; but,

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it then growing dark, and we being exceſſively fatigued, we were obliged to deſiſt, and to leave our work unfiniſhed, till the next morning, when, by the benefit of a night's reſt, we compleated it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of *September* in the morning, that is, five days after our departure, when we thus ſecured our anchor; and the ſame day, we got up our main-yard: And having now conquered in ſome degree the diſtreſs and diſorder which we were neceſſarily involved in at our firſt driving out to ſea, and being enabled to make uſe of our canvaſs, we ſet our courſes, and for the firſt time ſtood to the eaſtward in hopes of regaining the Iſland of *Tinian*, and joining our Commodore in a few days: For we were then by our accounts, only forty ſeven leagues to the South Weſt of *Tinian*; ſo that on the firſt day of *October*, having then run the diſtance neceſſary for making the Iſland according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of ſeeing it; but we were unhappily diſappointed, and were thereby convinced, that a current had driven us to the weſtward. And as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and conſequently how long we might ſtill expect to be at ſea, we had great apprehenſions that our ſtock of water might prove deficient, for we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, and found many of our caſks ſo decayed, as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day by having a ſight of the Iſland of *Guam*, by which we diſcovered that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the weſtward of our accounts. This ſight of land having ſatisfied us of our ſituation, we kept plying to the eaſtward,

though with exceſſive labour, for, the wind continuing fixed in the eaſtern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew were ſo weak, that, without the aſſiſtance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ſhip about. This ſevere employment laſted till the 11th of *October*, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of *Tinian*, we were reinforced from the ſhore, as hath been already mentioned; and on the evening of the ſame day, we, to our inexpreſſible joy, came to an anchor in the road, thereby procuring to our ſhipmates on ſhore, as well as to ourſelves, a ceſſation from the fatigues and apprehenſions, which this diſaſtrous incident had given riſe to.

CHAP. V.

Employment at *Tinian*, till the final departure of the *Centurion* from thence; with a deſcription of the *Ladrones*.

WHEN the Commodore came on board the *Centurion*, on her return to *Tinian*, as already mentioned, he reſolved to ſtay no longer at the Iſland than was abſolutely neceſſary to compleat our ſtock of water, a work which we immediately ſet ourſelves about. But the loſs of our long-boat, which was ſtaved againſt our poop, when we were driven out to ſea, put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our caſk, and the tide ran ſo ſtrong, that,

that, beſides the frequent delays and difficulties it occaſioned, we more than once loſt the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of *October*, being but the third day after our arrival, a ſudden guſt of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ſhip out to ſea a ſecond time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers were now on board; but we had near ſeventy men on ſhore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring proviſions. Theſe had with them our two Cutters; but as they were too many for the Cutters to bring off at once, we ſent the eighteen oared barge to aſſiſt them; and at the ſame time made a ſignal for all that could to embark. The two Cutters ſoon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were employed in killing cattle in the wood, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, were left behind; and though the eighteen oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ſhip ſoon drove to a conſiderable diſtance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now ſtronger than when we were firſt driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at *Tinian*, and relieved thoſe we had left behind us from their ſecond fears of being deſerted by their ſhip.

On our arrival, we found that the *Spaniſh* bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphoſis: For thoſe we had left on ſhore began to deſpair of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly propoſed, was both a toilſome and unneceſſary meaſure, conſidering the ſmall number they conſiſted of, they had reſolved to join her again, and to reſtore

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her to her firſt ſtate; and in this ſcheme they had made ſome progreſs; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have ſoon compleated her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and diſquietudes.

Theſe people we had left behind informed us, that, juſt before we were ſeen in the offing, two proas had ſtood in very near the ſhore, and had continued there for ſome time; but on the appearance of our ſhip, they crowded away, and were preſently out of ſight. And, on this occaſion, I muſt mention an incident, which, though it happened during the firſt abſence of the ſhip, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the courſe of the narration.

It hath been already obſerved, that a part of the detachment, ſent to this Iſland under the command of the *Spaniſh* Serjeant, lay concealed in the woods; and we were the leſs ſolicitous to find them out, as our priſoners all aſſured us, that it was impoſſible for them to get off, and conſequently that it was impoſſible for them to ſend any intelligence about us to *Guam*. But when the *Centurion* drove out to ſea, and left the Commodore on ſhore, he one day, attended by ſome of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the Iſland: In this expedition, being on a riſing ground, they perceived in the valley beneath them the appearance of a ſmall thicket, which, by obſerving more nicely, they found had a progreſſive motion: This at firſt ſurprized them; but they ſoon diſcovered, that it was no more than ſeveral large coco buſhes, which were dragged along the ground, by perſons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that theſe were ſome of the Serjeant's party (which was indeed

indeed true:) and therefore the Commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of finding out their retreat. The *Indians* ſoon perceived they were diſcovered, and hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. *Anſon* was ſo near them, that he did not loſe ſight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering found to be abandoned, there being a paſſage from it down a precipice contrived for the conveniency of flight. They found here an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of proviſions, particularly ſalted ſparibs of pork, which were excellent; and from what our people ſaw here, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite, which they had found at this Iſland, was not confined to themſelves alone; for, it being about noon, the *Indians* had laid out a very plentiful repaſt conſidering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and co-co-nuts prepared ready for eating, and in a manner which plainly evinced, that, with them too, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The Commodore having in vain endeavoured to diſcover the path by which the *Indians* had eſcaped, he and his officers contented themſelves with ſitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their preſent appetites; after which, they returned back to their old habitation, diſpleaſed at miſſing the *Indians*, as they hoped to have engaged them in our ſervice, if they could have had any conference with them. But notwithſtanding what our priſoners had aſſerted, we were afterwards aſſured, that theſe *Indians* were carried off to *Guam* long before we left the place. But to return to our hiſtory.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our ſecond driving off to ſea, we laboured indefatigably in getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of *October*, compleated it to fifty tun, which we ſuppoſed would be ſufficient for our paſſage to *Macao*, we, on the next day, ſent one of each meſs on ſhore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges lemons, coco-nuts and other fruits of the Iſland, as they poſſibly could, for the uſe of themſeves and meſs-mates, when at ſea. And, theſe purveyers returning on board us on the evening of the ſame day, we then ſet fire to the bark and proa, hoiſted in our boats, and got under ſail, ſteering away for the South-end of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, and taking our leaves, for the third and laſt time, of the Iſland of *Tinian*: An Iſland, which, whether we conſider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthineſs of its air, or the adventures it gave riſe to, may in all theſe views be truly ſtyled romantic.

And now, poſtponing for a ſhort time our run to *Formoſa*, and thence to *Canton*, I ſhall interrupt the narration with a deſcription of that range of Iſlands, uſually called the *Ladrones*, or *Marian* Iſlands, of which this of *Tinian* is one.

Theſe Iſlands were diſcovered by *Magellan* in the year 1521; and by the account given of the two he firſt fell in with, it ſhould ſeem that they were the Iſlands of *Saypan* and *Tinian*; for they are deſcribed in his expedition as very beautiful Iſlands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of North latitude. Theſe characteriſtics are particularly applicable to the two above mentioned places; for the pleaſing appearance of *Tinian* hath occaſioned the

the *Spaniards* to give it the additional name of *Buenaſtiva*; and *Saypan*, which is in the latitude of 15°: 22 North, affords no contemptible proſpect when ſeen from the ſea, as may be ſufficiently evinced from the view of its North Weſt ſide, taken at three leagues diſtance, and exhibited in the thirty-ſeventh plate.

There are uſually reckoned twelve of theſe Iſlands; but it will appear, from the chart of the North part of the *Pacific* Ocean hereafter inſerted, that if the ſmall iſlets and rocks are counted in, then their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly moſt of them well inhabited; and, even not ſixty years ago, the three principal Iſlands, *Guam*, *Rota*, and *Tinian* together, are ſaid to have contained above fifty thouſand people: But ſince that time *Tinian* hath been entirely depopulated; and only two or three hundred *Indians* have been left at *Rota*, to cultivate rice for the Iſland of *Guam*; ſo that now no more than *Guam* can properly be ſaid to be inhabited. This Iſland of *Guam* is the only ſettlement of the *Spaniards*; here they keep a governor and garriſon, and here the *Manila* ſhip generally touches for refreſhment, in her paſſage from *Acapulco* to the *Philippines*. It is eſteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the *Spaniſh* accounts, near four thouſand inhabitants, of which a thouſand are ſaid to live in the city of *San Ignatio de Agand*, where the Governour generally reſides, and where the houſes are repreſented as conſiderable, being built with ſtone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for theſe warm climates and ſavage countries: Beſides this city, there are upon the Iſland thirteen or fourteen

villages. As this is a poſt of ſome conſequence, on account of the refreſhment it yields to the *Manila* ſhip, there are two caſtles on the ſea-ſhore; one is the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, which lies near the road, where the *Manila* ſhip uſually anchors, and is but an inſignificant fortreſs, mounting only five guns eight pounders; the other is the caſtle of *St. Lewis*, which is N. E. from *St. Angelo*, and four leagues diſtant, and is intended to protect a road where a ſmall veſſel anchors, which arrives here every other year from *Manila*. This fort mounts the ſame number of guns as the former: And beſides theſe forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the ſea-ſhore. The *Spaniſh* troops employed on this iſland, conſiſt of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each; and this is the principal ſtrength the Governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any aſſiſtance from the *Indian* inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and ſo apprehenſive of them, that he has debarred them the uſe of fire-arms or lances.

The reſt of theſe Iſlands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreſhment and proviſion; but there is no good harbour or road to be met with amongſt them all: Of that of *Tinian* we have treated largely already; nor is the road of *Guam* much better; for it is not unuſual for the *Manila* ſhip, though ſhe propoſes to ſtay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to ſea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience ſo ſenſibly felt by the commerce at *Manila*, that it is always recommended to the Governor at *Guam*, to uſe his beſt endeavours for the diſcovery of ſome ſafe port in this part of the world. How induſtri-

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ous he may be to comply with his inſtructions, I know not; but this is certain, that, notwithſtanding the many Iſlands already found out between the coaſt of *Mexico* and the *Philippines*, there is not yet known any one ſafe port in that whole tract; though in other parts of the world it is not uncommon for very ſmall Iſlands to furniſh moſt excellent harbours.

From what has been ſaid, it appears, that the *Spaniards*, on the Iſland of *Guam*, are extremely few, compared to the *Indian* inhabitants; and formerly the diſproportion was ſtill greater, as may be eaſily conceived from what hath been ſaid, in another chapter, of the numbers heretofore on *Tinian* alone. Theſe *Indians* are a bold well-limbed people; and it ſhould ſeem from ſome of their practices, that they are no ways defective in underſtanding; for their flying proas in particular, which have been for ages the only veſſels uſed by them, are ſo ſingular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute. For if we conſider the aptitude of this proa to the particular navigation of theſe Iſlands, which lying all of them nearly under the ſame meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the veſſels made uſe of in paſſing from one to the other, to be particularly fitted for ſailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon ſimplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we ſhall, in each of theſe articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and meriting a place amongſt the mechanical productions of the moſt civilized nations, where arts and ſciences have moſt eminently flouriſhed. As

former Navigators, though they have mentioned theſe veſſels, have yet treated of them imperfectly; and as I conceive, that, beſides their curioſity, may furniſh both the ſhipwright and ſeaman with no contemptible obſervations, I ſhall here inſert a very exact deſcription of the built, rigging, and working of theſe veſſels, which I am well enabled to do; for one of them, as I have mentioned, fell into our hands at our firſt arrival at *Tinian*, and Mr. *Brett* took it to pieces, on purpoſe to delineate its fabric and dimenſions with greater accuracy: So that the following account may be relied on.

The name of flying proa given to theſe veſſels, is owing to the ſtiffneſs with which they ſail. Of this the *Spaniards* aſſert ſuch ſtories, as appear altogether incredible to thoſe who have never ſeen theſe veſſels move; nor are the *Spaniards* the only people who relate theſe extraordinary tales of their celerity. For thoſe who ſhall have the curioſity to enquire at the dock at *Portſmouth*, about a trial made there ſome years ſince, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not leſs wonderful than any the *Spaniards* have given. However, from ſome rude eſtimations made by our people, of the velocity with which they croſſed the horizon at a diſtance, whilſt we lay at *Tinian*, I cannot help believing, that with a briſk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour; Which though, greatly ſhort of what the *Spaniards* report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of ſwiftneſs. But let us give a diſtinct idea of its figure.

The conſtruction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of the reſt of mankind. For as the reſt of the world make the head of their veſ-

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ſels different from the ſtern, but the two ſides alike; the proa on the contrary, has her head and ſtern exactly alike, but her two ſides very different; the ſide, intended to be always the lee-ſide, being flat; and the windward-ſide made rounding, in the manner of other veſſels: And, to prevent her overſetting, which from her ſmall breadth, and the ſtraight run of her leeward-ſide, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is faſtened a log, faſhioned into the ſhape of a ſmall boat, and made hollow: The weight of the frame is intended to ballance the proa, and the ſmall boat is by its buyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her overſetting to windward; and this frame is uſually called an outrigger: The body of the proa (at leaſt of that we took) is made of two pieces joined end-ways, and ſowed together with bark, for there is no iron uſed about her: She is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to leſs than one: The dimenſions of each part will be better known from the uprights and views contained in the thirty-eighth plate, which were drawn from an exact menſuration; theſe I ſhall endeavour to explain as minutely and diſtinctly as I can.

Fig. 1. Repreſents the proa with her ſail ſet, as ſhe appears when viewed from the leeward.

Fig. 2. Is a view of her from the head, with the outrigger to the windward.

Fig. 3. Is the plan of the whole; where (A B) is the lee-ſide of the proa; (C D) the windward-ſide; (E F G H) the outrigger or frame laid out to windward; (K L) the boat at the end of it; (M N P Q) two braces from the head and ſtern to

ſteady the frame; (R S) a thin plank placed to windward, to prevent the proa from ſhipping of water, and for a ſeat to the *Indian* who bales, and ſometimes goods are carried upon it; (I) is the part of the middle outrigger, on which the maſt is fixed: The maſt itſelf is ſupported (*Fig.* 2.) by the ſhore (C D), and by the ſhrowd (E F), and by two ſtays, one of which may be ſeen, in *Fig.* 1, marked (C D), the other is hid by the ſail: The ſail (E F G), in *Fig.* 1, is made of matting, and the maſt, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo: The heel of the yard is always lodged in one of the ſockets (T) or (V), *Fig.* 3, according to the tack the proa goes on; and when ſhe alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her ſtern up to the wind, then by eaſing the halyard, and raiſing the yard, and carrying the heel of it along the lee-ſide of the proa, they fix it in the oppoſite ſocket; whilſt the boom at the ſame time, by letting fly the ſheet (M), and haling the ſheet (N), *Fig.* 1, ſhifts into a contrary ſituation to what it had before, and that which was the ſtern of the proa, now becomes the head, and ſhe is trimmed on the other tack. When it is neceſſary to reef or furl the ſail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries ſix or ſeven *Indians*; two of which are placed in the head and ſtern, who ſteer the veſſel alternately with a paddle according to the tack ſhe goes on, he in the ſtern being the ſteerſman; the other *Indians* are employed either in baling out the water which ſhe accidentally ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſail. From the deſcription of theſe veſſels it is ſufficiently obvious, how dexterouſly they are fitted for ranging this collection of Iſlands called the *Ladrones*:

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For as theſe Iſlands lie nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by ſailing moſt excellently on a wind, and with either end foremoſt, can run from one of theſe Iſlands to the other and back again, only by ſhifting the ſail, without ever putting about; and, by the flatneſs of their lee-ſide, and their ſmall breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other veſſel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage, which no veſſels that go large can ever pretend to: The advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps ſometimes greater than that with which the winds blows. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in ſimilar inſtances on ſhore: For it is well known, that the ſails of a windmill often move faſter than the wind; and one great ſuperiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the caſe we have mentioned of a veſſel upon a wind and before the wind: For the ſails of an horizontal windmill, the faſter they move, the more they detract from the impulſe of the wind upon them; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind, when they are in motion, as when they are at reſt.

Thus much may ſuffice as to the deſcription and nature of theſe ſingular embarkations. I muſt add, that veſſels bearing ſome obſcure reſemblance to theſe, are to be met with in various parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*; but none of them, that I can learn, to be compared with thoſe of the *Ladrones*, either in their conſtruction or celerity; which ſhould induce

one to believe, that this was originally the invention of ſome genius of theſe Iſlands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations: For though the *Ladrones* have no immediate intercourſe with any other people, yet there lie to the S. and S. W. of them a great number of Iſlands, which are ſuppoſed to extend to the coaſt of *New Guinea*. Theſe Iſlands are ſo near the *Ladrones*, that canoes from them have ſometimes, by diſtreſs, been drived to *Guam*; and the *Spaniards* did once diſpatch a bark for their diſcovery, which left two Jeſuits amongſt them, who were afterwards murthered: And the inhabitants of the *Ladrones*, with their proas, may, by like accident, have been driven amongſt theſe Iſlands. Indeed I ſhould conceive, that the ſame range of Iſlands extends to the S. E. as well as the S. W, and that to a prodigious diſtance: For *Schouten*, who traverſed the South part of the *Pacific* Ocean in the year 1615, met with a large double canoe full of people, at above a thouſand leagues diſtance from the *Ladrones* towards the S. E. If this double canoe was any diſtant imitation of the flying proa, which is no very improbable conjecture, this can only be accounted for, by ſuppoſing that there is a range of Iſlands, near enough to each other to be capable of an accidental communication, which is extended from the *Ladrones* thither. And indeed all thoſe who have croſſed from *America* to the *Eaſt-Indies* in a ſouthern latitude, have never failed of meeting with ſeveral very ſmall Iſlands ſcattered over that immenſe ocean.

And as there may be hence ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the *Ladrones* are only a part of an extenſive chain of Iſlands, ſpreading themſelves to the

ſouthward, towards the unknown boundaries of the *Pacific* Ocean; ſo it appears from the *Spaniſh* chart, hereafter inſerted, that the ſame chain is extended from the northward of the *Ladrones* to *Japan*: So that in this light the *Ladrones* will be only one ſmall portion of a range of Iſlands, reaching from *Japan*, perhaps to the unknown ſouthern Continent. After this ſhort account of theſe places, I ſhall now return to the proſecution of our voyage.

CHAP. VI.

From *Tinian* to *Macao*.

I HAVE already mentioned, that, on the 21ſt of *October*, in the evening, we took our leave of the Iſland of *Tinian*, ſteering the proper courſe for *Macao* in *China*. The eaſtern monſoon was now, we reckoned, fairly ſettled; and we had a conſtant gale blowing right upon our ſtern: So that we generally run from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow ſea purſuing us, which occaſioned the ſhip to labour much; whence we received great damage in our rigging, which was grown very rotten, and our leak was augmented: But happily for us, our people were now in full health; ſo that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ſhip, with eaſe and chearfulneſs.

Having now no other but our ſheet-anchor left, except our prize-anchors, which were ſtowed in the

the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we were under great concern how we ſhould manage on the coaſt of *China*, where we were all entire ſtrangers, and where we ſhould doubtleſs be frequently under the neceſſity of coming to an anchor. Our ſheet-anchor being obviouſly much too heavy for a coaſting anchor, it was at length reſolved, to fix two of our largeſt prize-anchors into one ſtock, and to place between their ſhanks two guns, four pounders, which was accordingly executed, and it was to ſerve as a beſt bower: And a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined with our ſtream-anchor, with guns between them, we thereby made a ſmall bower; ſo that, beſides our ſheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of *November*, about three in the afternoon, we ſaw an Iſland, which at firſt we imagined to be the iſland of *Botel Tobago Ximo*: But on our nearer approach we found it to be much ſmaller than that is uſually repreſented; and about an hour after we ſaw another Iſland, five or ſix miles farther to the weſtward. As no chart, nor any journal we had ſeen, took notice of any other Iſland to the eaſtward of *Formoſa*, than *Botel Tobago Xima*, and as we had no obſervation of our latitude at noon, we were in ſome perplexity, being apprehenſive that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the *Baſhee Iſlands*; and therefore, when night came on, we brought to, and continued in this poſture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy, for ſome time prolonged our uncertainty; but it cleared up about nine o'clock, when we again diſcern-

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ed the two Iſlands above-mentioned; we then preſt forwards to the weſtward, and by eleven got a ſight of the ſouthern part of the Iſland of *Formoſa*. This ſatisfied us that the ſecond Iſland we ſaw was *Botel Tobago Xima*, and the firſt a ſmall iſland or rock, lying five or ſix miles due Eaſt from it, which, not being mentioned by any of our books or charts, was the occaſion of our fears.

When we got ſight of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, we ſteered W. by S, in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look-out for the rocks of *Vele Rete*, which we did not ſee till two in the afternoon. They then bore from us W. N. W, three miles diſtant, the South end of *Formoſa* at the ſame time bearing N. by W, $\frac{1}{2}$ W, about five leagues diſtant. To give theſe rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up S. by W, and ſo left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reaſon to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ſhip's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all ſides, and there is a ſhoal ſtretching from them at leaſt a mile and an half to the ſouthward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The courſe from *Botel Tobago Xima* to theſe rocks, is S. W. by W, and the diſtance about twelve or thirteen leagues: And the ſouth end of *Formoſa*, off which they lie, is in the latitude of 21°: 50′ North, and in 23°: 50′ Weſt longitude from *Tinian*, according to our moſt approved reckonings, though by ſome of our accounts above a degree more.

While we were paſſing by theſe rocks of *Vele Rete*, there was an outcry of fire on the fore-caſtle; this occaſioned a general alarm, and the whole

whole crew inſtantly flocked together in the utmoſt confuſion, ſo that the officers found it difficult for ſome time to appeaſe the uproar: But having at laſt reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace; and pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguiſhed with great facility, for it had taken its riſe from the bricks, which, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work. In the evening we were ſurprized with a view of what we at firſt ſight conceived to have been breakers, but, on a ſtricter examination, we found them to be only a great number of fires on the Iſland of *Formoſa*. Theſe, we imagined, were intended by the Inhabitants of that Iſland as ſignals for us to touch there, but that ſuited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of *Macao* as ſoon as poſſible. From *Formoſa* we ſteered W. N. W, and ſometimes ſtill more northerly, propoſing to fall in with the coaſt of *China*, to the eaſtward of *Pedro Blanco*; for the rock ſo called is uſually eſteemed an excellent direction for ſhips bound to *Macao*. We continued this courſe till the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in ſoundings: but it was the 5th of *November*, at nine in the morning, before we ſtruck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom, and a bottom of grey ſand mixed with ſhells. When we had got about twenty miles farther W. N. W, we had thirty-five fathom, and the ſame bottom, from whence our ſounding gradually decreaſed from thirty-five to twenty-five fathom; but ſoon after, to our great ſurprize, they jumped back again to thirty fathom: This was an alteration we could not very well

well account for, ſince all the charts laid down regular ſoundings every where to the northward of *Pedro Blanco*; and for this reaſon we kept a very careful look-out, and altered our courſe to N. N. W, and having run thirty-five miles in this direction, our ſoundings again gradually diminiſhed to twenty-two fathom, and we at laſt, about mid-night, got ſight of the main land of *China*, bearing N. by W. four leagues diſtant: We then brought the ſhip to, with her head to the ſea, propoſing to wait for the morning; and before ſun-riſe we were ſurprized to find ourſelves in the midſt of an incredible number of fiſhing-boats, which ſeemed to cover the ſurface of the ſea, as far as the eye could reach. I may well ſtile their number incredible, ſince I cannot believe, upon the loweſt eſtimate, that there were ſo few as ſix thouſand, moſt of them manned with five hands, and none of thoſe we ſaw with leſs than three. Nor was this ſwarm of fiſhing-veſſels peculiar to this ſpot; for, as we ran on to the weſtward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coaſt. We at firſt doubted not but we ſhould procure a Pilot from them to carry us to *Macao*; but though many of them came cloſe to the ſhip, and we endeavoured to tempt them by ſhowing them a number of dollars, a moſt alluring bait for *Chineſe* of all ranks and profeſſions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I preſume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, for we could have no communication with them but by ſigns: Indeed we often pronounced the word *Macao*; but this we had reaſon to ſuppoſe they underſtood in a different

different ſenſe; for in return they ſometimes held up fiſh to us, and we afterwards learnt, that the *Chineſe* name for fiſh is of a ſomewhat ſimilar ſound. But what ſurpriſed us moſt, was the inattention and want of curioſity, which we obſerved in this herd of fiſhermen: A ſhip like ours had doubtleſs never been in thoſe ſeas before; perhaps, there might not be one, amongſt all the *Chineſe* employed in this fiſhery, who had ever ſeen any *European* veſſel; ſo that we might reaſonably have expected to have been conſidered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object; but though many of their veſſels came cloſe to the ſhip, yet they did not appear to be at all intereſted about us, nor did they deviate in the leaſt from their courſe to regard us; which inſenſibility, eſpecially in maritime perſons, about a matter in their own profeſſion, is ſcarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the *Chineſe*, in other inſtances, furniſh us with continual proofs of a ſimilar turn of mind: It may perhaps be doubted, whether this caſt of temper be the effect of nature or education; but, in either caſe, it is an inconteſtible ſymptom of a mean and contemptible diſpoſition, and is alone a ſufficient confutation of the extravagant panegyrics, which many hypothetical writers have beſtowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this Nation. But to return:

Not being able to procure any information from the *Chineſe* fiſhermen about our proper courſe to *Macao*, it was neceſſary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment; and concluding from our latitude, which was 22°: 42′ North, and from our ſoundings, which were only ſeventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eaſtward

ward of *Pedro Blanco*, we ſtood to the weſtward: And for the aſſiſtance of future Navigators, who may hereafter doubt about the parts of the coaſt they are upon, I muſt obſerve, that beſides the latitude of *Pedro Blanco*, which is 22° : 18′, and the depth of water, which to the weſtward of that rock is almoſt every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumſtance which will give great aſſiſtance in judging of the poſition of the ſhip: This is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of *Pedro Blanco*, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to ſoft and muddy, and continued ſo quite to the Iſland of *Macao*; only while we were in ſight of *Pedro Blanco*, and very near it, we had for a ſhort ſpace a bottom of greeniſh mud, intermixed with ſand.

It was on the 5th of *November*, at midnight, when we firſt made the coaſt of *China*; and the next day, about two o'clock, as we were ſtanding to the weſtward within two leagues of the coaſt, and ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing veſſels in as great numbers as at firſt, we perceived that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we conſidered as a ſignal made to us, either to warn us of ſome ſhoal, or to inform us that they would ſupply us with a Pilot, and in this belief we immediately ſent our Cutter to the boat, to know their intentions; but we were ſoon made ſenſible of our miſtake, and found that this boat was the Commodore of the whole fiſhery, and that the ſignal ſhe had made, was to order them all to leave off fiſhing, and to return in ſhore, which we ſaw them inſtantly obey. On this diſappointment we kept on our courſe, and ſoon after paſſed by two

very ſmall rocks, which lay four or five miles diſtant from the ſhore; but night came on before we got ſight of *Pedro Blanco*, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the ſatisfaction to diſcover it. It is a rock of a ſmall circumference, but of a moderate height, and, both in ſhape and colour, reſembles a ſugar-loaf, and is about ſeven or eight miles from the ſhore. We paſſed within a mile and an half of it, and left it between us and the land, ſtill keeping on to the weſtward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breaſt of a chain of Iſlands, which ſtretched from Eaſt to Weſt. Theſe, as we afterwards found, were called the Iſlands of *Lema*; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, ſmall and great, fifteen or ſixteen; and there are, beſides, a great number of other Iſlands between them and the main land of *China*. There is in the thirty-ninth Plate a view of theſe Iſlands, and likewiſe a view of the grand *Ladrone*, hereafter mentioned, as it appears when (R), the weſtermoſt of the Iſlands of *Lema*, bears W. N. W. at the diſtance of a mile and a half. Theſe Iſlands we left on the ſtarboard-ſide, paſſing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathom water. We were ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing-boats; and we once more ſent the Cutter on board one of them, to endeavour to procure a Pilot, but could not prevail; however, one of the *Chineſe* directed us by ſigns to ſail round the weſtermoſt of the Iſlands or rocks of *Lema*, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom; at which time, the rock (R) in the foregoing draught bore S. S. E. five miles diſtant, and the grand

Ladrone W. by S. about two leagues distant. The rock (R) is a most excellent direction for ships coming from the eastward: Its latitude is 21°: 52′ North, and it bears from *Pedro Blanco* S. 64° W. distant twenty-one leagues. You are to leave it on the starboard-side, and you may come within half a mile of it in eighteen fathom water: And then you must steer N. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. for the channel, between the Islands of *Cabouce* and *Bamboo*, which are to the northward of the grand *Ladrone*.

After having continued at anchor all night, we on the 9th, at four in the morning, sent our Cutter to sound the channel, where we proposed to pass; but before the return of the Cutter, a *Chinese* Pilot put on board us, and told us, in broken *Portuguese*, he would carry us to *Macao* for thirty dollars. These were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail; and soon after, several other Pilots come on board us, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the Captains of several ships they had pilotted in, but we continued the ship under the management of the *Chinese* who came first on board. By this time we learnt, that we were not far distant from *Macao*, and that there were in the river of *Canton*, at the mouth of which *Macao* lies, eleven *European* ships, of which four were *English*. Our Pilot carried us between the Islands of *Bamboo* and *Cabouce*, but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor, so that we did not get through between the two Islands till the 12th of *November*, at two in the morning. In passing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathom;

and as we ſtill ſteered on N. W. ½ W. between a number of other Iſlands, our ſoundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they encreaſed to ſeventeen fathom; in which depth (the wind dying away) we anchored not far from the Iſland of *Lantoon*, which is the largeſt of all this range of Iſlands. At ſeven in the morning we weighed again, and ſteering W. S. W. and S. W. by W. we at ten o'clock happily anchored in *Macao* road, in five fathom water, the city of *Macao* bearing W. by N. three leagues diſtant; the peak of *Lantoon* E. by N. and the grand *Ladrone* S. by E. each of them about five leagues diſtant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruiſe of above two years continuance, we once more arrived in an amicable port, in a civilized country; where the conveniencies of life were in great plenty; where the naval ſtores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in ſome degree procured; where we expected the inexpreſſible ſatiſfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from *England*, would be capable of anſwering the numerous enquiries we were prepared to make, both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be liſtned to by us with the utmoſt attention, after the long ſuſpenſion of our correſpondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto ſubjected us.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Proceedings at *Macao*.

THE city of *Macao*, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of *November*, is a *Portugueſe* ſettlement, ſituated in an Iſland at the mouth of the river of *Canton*. It was formerly a very rich and populous city, and capable of defending itſelf againſt the power of the adjacent *Chineſe* Governors: But at preſent it is much fallen from its antient ſplendor; for though it is inhabited by *Portugueſe*, and hath a Governor nominated by the King of *Portugal*, yet it ſubſiſts merely by the ſufferance of the *Chineſe*, who can ſtarve the place, and diſpoſſeſs the *Portugueſe* whenever they pleaſe. This obliges the Governor of *Macao* to behave with great circumſpection, and carefully to avoid every circumſtance that may give offence to the *Chineſe*. The river of *Canton*, at the mouth of which this city lies, is the only *Chineſe* port, frequented by *European* ſhips; and this river is indeed a more commodious harbour, on many accounts, than *Macao*: But the peculiar cuſtoms of the *Chineſe*, only adapted to the entertainment of trading ſhips, and the apprehenſions of the Commodore, leſt he ſhould embroil the *Eaſt-India* Company with the Regency of *Canton*, if he ſhould inſiſt on being treated upon a different footing from the Merchantmen, made him reſolve to go firſt to *Macao*, before he ventured into the port of *Canton*. Indeed, had not this reaſon prevailed with him, he himſelf had nothing

to fear: For it is certain that he might have entered the port of *Canton*, and might have continued there as long as he pleaſed, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the *Chineſe* Empire had been brought together to oppoſe him.

The Commodore, not to depart from his uſual prudence, no ſooner came to an anchor in *Macao* road, than he diſpatched an officer with his compliments to the *Portugueſe* Governor of *Macao*, requeſting his Excellency, by the ſame officer, to adviſe him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the *Chineſe*, which, as there were then four of our ſhips in their power at *Canton*, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty, which the Commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty uſually paid by all ſhips in the river of *Canton*, according to their tunnage. For as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the Commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country, to ſubmit to this duty in *China:* And therefore he deſired the advice of the Governor of *Macao*, who, being an *European*, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a *Britiſh* man of war, and conſequently might be expected to give us the beſt lights for avoiding this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers ſent by the Governor, who informed the Commodore, that it was the Governor's opinion, that if the *Centurion* ventured into the river of *Canton*, the duty would certainly be demanded; and therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would ſend him a Pilot, who ſhould conduct us into another ſafe harbour,

harbour, called the *Typa*, which was every way commodious for careening the ſhip (an operation we were reſolved to begin upon as ſoon as poſſible) and where the above-mentioned duty would, in all probability, be never aſked for.

This propoſal the Commodore agreed to, and in the morning we weighed anchor, and, under the direction of the *Portugueſe* Pilot, ſteered for the intended harbour. As we entered two Iſlands, which form the eaſtern paſſage to it, we found our ſoundings decreaſed to three fathom and a half: But the Pilot aſſuring us that this was the leaſt depth we ſhould meet with, we continued our courſe, till at length the ſhip ſtuck faſt in the mud, with only eighteen foot water abaft; and, the tide of ebb making, the water ſewed to ſixteen feet, but the ſhip remained perfectly upright; we then ſounded all round us, and finding the water deepned to the northward, we carried out our ſmall bower with two hawſers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood, hove the ſhip afloat; and a ſmall breeze ſpringing up at the ſame inſtant, we ſet the fore-top-ſail, and ſlipping the hawſer, ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the *Typa* is formed by a number of Iſlands, and is about ſix miles diſtant from *Macao*. Here we ſaluted the caſtle of *Macao* with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the Commodore paid a viſit in perſon to the Governor, and was ſaluted at his landing by eleven guns; which were returned by the *Centurion*. Mr. *Anſon's* buſineſs in this viſit, was to ſolicit the Governor to grant us a ſupply of proviſions, and to furniſh us with ſuch ſtores

as were neceſſary to refit the ſhip. The Governor ſeemed really inclined to do us all the ſervice he could; and aſſured the Commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the aſſiſtance in his power; but he, at the ſame time, frankly owned, that he dared not openly furniſh us with any thing we demanded, unleſs we firſt procured an order for it from the Viceroy of *Canton*; for that he neither received proviſions for his garriſon, nor any other neceſſaries, but by permiſſion from the *Chineſe* Government; and as they took care only to furniſh him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vaſſal, whom they could at all times compel to ſubmit to their own terms, only by laying an embargo on his proviſions.

On this declaration of the Governor, Mr. *Anſon* reſolved himſelf to go to *Canton*, to procure a licence from the Viceroy; and he accordingly hired a *Chineſe* boat for himſelf, and his attendants; but juſt as he was ready to embark, the *Hoppo*, or *Chineſe* Cuſtom-houſe officer at *Macao*, refuſed to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed, at their peril. The Commodore at firſt endeavoured to prevail with the *Hoppo* to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the Governor of *Macao* employed his intereſt with the *Hoppo* to the ſame purpoſe. Mr. *Anſon*, finding the officer inflexible, told him, the next day, that if he longer refuſed to grant the permit, he would man and arm his own boats, to carry him thither; aſking the *Hoppo*, at the ſame time, who he imagined would dare to oppoſe him. This threat immediately brought about what his intreaties had laboured for in vain: The permit was granted,

granted, and Mr. *Anſon* went to *Canton*. On his arrival there, he conſulted with the Supercargoes and officers of the *Engliſh* ſhips, how to procure an order from the Viceroy for the neceſſaries he wanted: But in this he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the advice they gave him, though doubtleſs well intended, was yet not the moſt prudent: For as it is the cuſtom with theſe Gentlemen, never to apply to the ſupreme Magiſtrate himſelf, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to tranſact all matters relating to the Government, by the mediation of the principal *Chineſe* merchants, Mr. *Anſon* was adviſed to follow the ſame method upon this occaſion, the *Engliſh* promiſing (in which they were doubtleſs ſincere) to exert all their intereſt to engage the Merchants in his favour. And when the *Chineſe* Merchants were applied to, they readily undertook the management of it, and promiſed to anſwer for its ſucceſs; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuſes, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of compleating the buſineſs, they at laſt (being preſſed, and meaſures being taken for delivering a letter to the Viceroy) threw off the maſk, and declared they neither had applied to the Viceroy, nor could they; for he was too great a man, they ſaid, for them to approach on any occaſion. And, not contented with having themſelves thus groſly deceived the Commodore, they now uſed all their perſuaſion with the *Engliſh* at *Canton*, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him, repreſenting to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the Government, and occaſion them a great deal of unneceſſary trouble; which groundleſs inſinuations had indeed

indeed but too much weight with thoſe they were applied to.

It muſt be difficult to aſſign a reaſon for this perfidious conduct of the *Chineſe* Merchants: Intereſt indeed is known to exert a boundleſs influence over the inhabitants of that Empire; but how their intereſt could be affected in the preſent caſe, is not eaſy to diſcover; unleſs they apprehended that the preſence of a ſhip of force might damp their *Manila* trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the Commodore to *Batavia*: But it might be as natural in this light to ſuppoſe, that they would have been eager to have got him diſpatched. I therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled puſillanimity of the Nation, and to the awe they are under of the Government: For as ſuch a ſhip as the *Centurion*, fitted for war only, had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before, ſhe was the horror of theſe daſtards, and the Merchants were in ſome degree terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the Viceroy (who is doubtleſs fond of all opportunities of fleecing them) without repreſenting to themſelves the pretences which a hungry and tyrannical Magiſtrate might poſſibly find, for cenſuring their intermeddling in ſo unuſual a tranſaction, in which he might pretend the intereſt of the State was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the Commodore was ſatisfied that nothing was to be done by the interpoſition of the Merchants, as it was on his preſſing them to deliver a letter to the Viceroy, that they had declared they durſt not intermeddle, and had confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding all their pretences of ſerving him, they had not yet taken one ſtep

towards

towards it. Mr. *Anſon* therefore told them, that he would proceed to *Batavia*, and refit his ſhip there; but informed them, at the ſame time, that this was impoſſible to be done, unleſs he was ſupplied with a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient for his paſſage. The Merchants, on this, undertook to procure him proviſions, but aſſured him, that it was what they durſt not engage in openly, but propoſed to manage it in a clandeſtine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour and other proviſion on board the *Engliſh* ſhips, which were now ready to ſail; and theſe were to ſtop at the mouth of the *Typa*, where the *Centurion's* boats were to receive it. This article, which the Merchants repreſented as a matter of great favour, being ſettled, the Commodore, on the 16th of *December*, returned from *Canton* to the ſhip, ſeemingly reſolved to proceed to *Batavia* to refit, as ſoon as he ſhould get his ſupplies of proviſion on board.

But Mr. *Anſon* (who never intended going to *Batavia*) found, on his return to the *Centurion*, that her main-maſt was ſprung in two places, and that the leak was conſiderably increaſed; ſo that, upon the whole, he was fully ſatisfied, that though he ſhould lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, yet it would be impoſſible for him to put to ſea without refitting: For, if he left the port with his ſhip in her preſent condition, ſhe would be in the utmoſt danger of foundring; and therefore notwithſtanding the difficulties he had met with, he reſolved at all events to have her hove down, before he left *Macao*. He was fully convinced, by what he had obſerved at *Canton*, that his great caution not to injure the *Eaſt-India* Company's affairs, and the regard he had ſhown to the advice of their officers,

ficers, had occaſioned all his embarraſments. For he now ſaw clearly, that if he had at firſt carried his ſhip into the river of *Canton*, and had immediately applied himſelf to the *Mandarines*, who are the chief officers of State, inſtead of employing the Merchants to apply for him; he would, in all probability, have had all his requeſts granted, and would have been ſoon diſpatched. He had already loſt a month, by the wrong meaſures he had been put upon, but he reſolved to loſe as little more time as poſſible; and therefore, the 17th of *December*, being the next day after his return from *Canton*, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy of that place, acquainting him, that he was Commander in chief of a ſquadron of his *Britannick* Majeſty's ſhips of war, which had been cruiſing for two years paſt in the *South-Sea* againſt the *Spaniards*, who were at war with the King his Maſter; that, in his way back to *England*, he had put into the port of *Macao*, having a conſiderable leak in his ſhip, and being in great want of proviſions, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his voyage, till his ſhip was repaired, and he was ſupplied with the neceſſaries he wanted; that he had been at *Canton*, in hopes of being admitted to a perſonal audience of his Excellency; but being a ſtranger to the cuſtoms of the country, he had not been able to inform himſelf what ſteps were neceſſary to be taken to procure ſuch an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply to him in this manner, to deſire his Excellency to give orders, for his being permitted to employ Carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ſhip, and to furniſh himſelf with proviſions and ſtores, thereby to enable him to purſue his voyage to *Great-Britain* with this monſoon, hoping, at the

the ſame time, that theſe orders would be iſſued with as little delay as poſſible, leſt it might occaſion his loſs of the ſeaſon, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was tranſlated into the *Chineſe* language, and the Commodore delivered it himſelf to the *Hoppo* or chief officer of the Emperor's cuſtoms at *Macao*, deſiring him to forward it to the Viceroy of *Canton*, with as much expedition as he could. The officer at firſt ſeemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raiſed many difficulties about it, ſo that Mr. *Anſon* ſuſpected him of being in league with the Merchants of *Canton*, who had always ſhown a great apprehenſion of the Commodore's having any immediate intercourſe with the Viceroy or *Mandarines*; and therefore the Commodore, with ſome reſentment, took back his letter from the *Hoppo*, and told him, he would immediately ſend an officer with it to *Canton* in his own boat, and would give him poſitive orders not to return without an anſwer from the Viceroy. The *Hoppo* perceiving the Commodore to be in earneſt, and fearing to be called to an account for his refuſal, begged to be intruſted with the letter, and promiſed to deliver it, and to procure an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. And now it was ſoon ſeen how juſtly Mr. *Anſon* had at laſt judged of the proper manner of dealing with the *Chineſe*; for this letter was written but the 17th of *December*, as hath been already obſerved; and, on the 19th in the morning, a *Mandarine* of the firſt rank, who was Governor of the city of *Janſon*, together with two *Mandarines* of an inferior claſs, and a great retinue of officers and ſervants, having with them eighteen half gallies, decorated with a great number of ſtreamers, and furniſhed with muſic,

ſic, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the *Centurion*; whence the *Mandarine* ſent a meſſuage to the Commodore, telling him, that he (the *Mandarine)* was ordered, by the Viceroy of *Canton*, to examine the condition of the ſhip, and deſiring the ſhip's boat might be ſent to fetch him on board. The *Centurion's* boat was immediately diſpatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; for a hundred of the moſt ſightly of the crew were uniformly dreſt in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, againſt his arrival. When he entered the ſhip he was ſaluted by the drums, and what other military muſic there was on board; and paſſing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the Commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabbin. Here the *Mandarine* explained his commiſſion, declaring, that his buſineſs was to examine all the particulars mentioned in the Commodore's letter to the Viceroy, and to confront them with the repreſentation that had been given of them; that he was particularly inſtructed to inſpect the leak, and had for that purpoſe brought with him two *Chineſe* Carpenters; and that for the greater regularity and diſpatch of his buſineſs, he had every head of enquiry ſeparately wrote down on a ſheet of paper, with a void ſpace oppoſite to it, where he was to inſert ſuch information and remarks thereon, as he could procure by his own obſervation.

This *Mandarine* appeared to be a perſon of very conſiderable parts, and endowed with more frankneſs and honeſty, than is to be found in the generality of the *Chineſe*. After the proper inquiries had been made, particularly about the leak, which the

the *Chineſe* Carpenters reported to be as dangerous as it had been repreſented, and conſequently that it was impoſſible for the *Centurion* to proceed to ſea without being refitted, the *Mandarine* expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the account given in the Commodore's letter. And this Magiſtrate, as he was more intelligent than any other perſon of his nation that came to our knowledge, ſo likewiſe was he more curious and inquiſitive, viewing each part of the ſhip with particular attention, and appearing greatly ſurprized at the largeneſs of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and ſize of the ſhot. The Commodore, obſerving his aſtoniſhment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the *Chineſe* of the prudence of granting him a ſpeedy and ample ſupply of all he wanted. With this view he told the *Mandarine*, and thoſe who were with him, that, beſides the demands he made for a general ſupply, he had a particular complaint againſt the proceedings of the Cuſtom-houſe of *Macao*; that at his firſt arrival the *Chineſe* boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and variety of freſh proviſions for daily uſe, for which they had always been paid to their full ſatisfaction, but that the Cuſtom-houſe officers at *Macao* had ſoon forbid them, by which means he was deprived of thoſe refreſhments which were of the utmoſt conſequence to the health of his men, after their long and ſickly voyage; that as they, the *Mandarines*, had informed themſelves of his wants, and were eye-witneſſes of the force and ſtrength of his ſhip, they might be ſatisfied it was not for want of power to ſupply himſelf, that he deſired the permiſſion of the Government to purchaſe what proviſions he ſtood in need of; that they muſt be convinced that the *Cen-*

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turion alone was capable of deſtroying the whole navigation of the port of *Canton*, or of any other port in *China*, without running the leaſt riſque from all the force the *Chineſe* could collect; that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendſhip with each other; but it was likewiſe true, that it was not cuſtomary for any nation to permit the ſhips of their friends to ſtarve and ſink in their ports, when thoſe friends had money to ſupply their wants, and only deſired liberty to lay it out; that they muſt confeſs, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modeſty and reſerve; but that, as his wants were each day increaſing, hunger would at laſt prove too ſtrong for any reſtraint, and neceſſity was acknowledged in all countries to be ſuperior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to ſtarve in the midſt of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witneſſes: To this the Commodore added, (though perhaps with a leſs ſerious air) that if by the delay of ſupplying him with freſh proviſions his men ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of turning cannibals, and preying upon their own ſpecies, it was eaſy to be foreſeen that, independent of their friendſhip to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well fed *Chineſe* to their own emaciated ſhipmates. The firſt *Mandarine* acquieſced in the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, and told the Commodore, that he ſhould that night proceed for *Canton*; that on his arrival, a Council of *Mandarines* would be ſummoned, of which he himſelf was a Member; and that by being employed in the preſent Commiſſion, he was of courſe the Commodore's Advocate; that, as he was fully convinced

vinced of the urgency of Mr. *Anſon's* neceſſity, he did not doubt but, on his repreſentation, the Council would be of the ſame opinion; and that all that was demanded would be amply and ſpeedily granted: And with regard to the Commodore's complaint of the Cuſtom-houſe of *Macao*, he undertook to rectify that immediately by his own authority; for deſiring a liſt to be given him of the quantity of proviſion neceſſary for the expence of the ſhip for a day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to ſee that quantity ſent on board early every morning; and this order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in ſome degree regulated, the Commodore invited him and his two attendant *Mandarines* to dinner, telling them at the ſame time, that if his proviſions, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they muſt thank themſelves for having confined him to ſo hard an allowance. One of his diſhes was beef, which the *Chineſe* all diſlike, tho' Mr. *Anſon* was not apprized of it; this ſeems to be derived from the *Indian* ſuperſtition, which for ſome ages paſt has made a great progreſs in *China*. However, his gueſts did not entirely faſt; for the three *Mandarines* compleatly finiſhed the white part of four large fowls. But they were extremely embarraſſed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making uſe of them: So that, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to help themſelves, which were ſufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in ſmall pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the *European* manner of eating,

they seemed not to be novices in drinking. The Commodore excused himself in this part of the entertainment, under the pretence of illness; but there being another Gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief *Mandarine* clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that Gentleman perceiving, that, after they had dispatched four or five bottles of *Frontiniac*, the *Mandarine* still continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought up, which the *Chinese* seemed much to relish; and this being near finished, they arose from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drank, and the Commodore having, according to custom, made the *Mandarine* a present, they all departed in the same vessels that brought them.

After their departure, the Commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the Council, and the necessary licences for his refitment. For it must be observed, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that he could neither purchase stores nor necessaries with his money, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves to work for him, without the permission of the Government first obtained. And in the execution of these particular injunctions, the Magistrates never fail of exercising great severity, they, notwithstanding the fustian elogiums bestowed upon them by the Catholic Missionaries and their *European* copiers, being composed of the same fragile materials with the rest of mankind, and often making use of the authority of the law, not to suppress crimes, but to enrich themselves by the

pillage of thoſe who commit them; for capital puniſhments are rare in *China*, the effeminate genius of the nation, and their ſtrong attachment to lucre, diſpoſing them rather to make uſe of fines; and hence ariſes no inconſiderable profit to thoſe who compoſe their tribunals: Conſequently prohibitions of all kinds, particularly ſuch, as the alluring proſpect of great profit may often tempt the ſubject to infringe, cannot but be favourite inſtitutions in ſuch a Government. But to return:

Some time before this, Captain *Saunders* took his paſſage to *England* on board a *Swediſh* ſhip, and was charged with diſpatches from the Commodore; and ſoon after, in the month of *December*, Captain *Mitchel*, Colonel *Cracherode*, and Mr. *Taſſel*, one of the Agent-Victuallers, with his nephew Mr. *Charles Harriot*, embarked on board ſome of our Company's ſhips; and I, having obtained the Commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I muſt obſerve too, (having omitted it before) that whilſt we lay here at *Macao*, we were informed by ſome of the officers of our *Indiamen*, that the *Severn* and *Pearl*, the two ſhips of our ſquadron, which had ſeparated from us off Cape *Noir*, were ſafely arrived at *Rio Janeiro* on the coaſt of *Brazil*. I have formerly taken notice, that, at the time of their ſeparation, we apprehended them to be loſt. And there were many reaſons which greatly favoured this ſuſpicion: For we knew that the *Severn* in particular was extremely ſickly; and this was the more obvious to the reſt of the ſhips, as, in the preceding part of the voyage, her Commander Captain *Legg* had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his ſtation, till, for the laſt ten days before his ſe-

paration, his crew was ſo diminiſhed and enfeebled, that with his utmoſt efforts it was not poſſible for him to maintain his proper poſition with his wonted exactneſs. The extraordinary ſickneſs on board him was by many imputed to the ſhip, which was new, and on that account was believed to be the more unhealthy; but whatever was the cauſe of it, the *Severn* was by much the moſt ſickly of the ſquadron: For before her departure from *St. Catharine's* ſhe buried more men than any of them, inſomuch that the Commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of freſh hands; and, the mortality ſtill contining on board her, ſhe was ſupplied with men a ſecond time at ſea, after our ſetting ſail from *St. Julians*; and notwithſtanding theſe different reinforcements, ſhe was at laſt reduced to the diſtreſſed condition I have already mentioned: So that the Commodore himſelf was firmly perſuaded ſhe was loſt; and therefore it was with great joy we received the news of her and the *Pearl*'s ſafety, after the ſtrong perſuaſion, which had ſo long prevailed amongſt us, of their having both periſhed. But to proceed with the tranſactions between Mr. *Anſon* and the *Chineſe*.

Notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſition of the *Mandarine* Governor of *Janſon*, at his leaving Mr. *Anſon*, ſeveral days were elapſed before he had any advice from him; and Mr. *Anſon* was privately informed there were great debates in Council upon his affair; partly perhaps owing to its being ſo unuſual a caſe, and in part to the influence, as I ſuppoſe, of the intrigues of the *French* at *Canton*: For they had a countryman and faſt friend reſiding on the ſpot, who ſpoke the language very well, and was not unacquainted with the venalty of the

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Government, nor with the perſons of ſeveral of the Magiſtrates, and conſequently could not be at a loſs for means of traverſing the aſſiſtance deſired by Mr. *Anſon*. And this oppoſition of the *French* was not merely the effect of national prejudice or contrariety of political intereſts, but was in good meaſure owing to their vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind, than any attachment to the public ſervice of their community: For, the *French* pretending their *Indiamen* to be Men of War; their officers were apprehenſive, that any diſtinction granted to Mr. *Anſon*, on account of his bearing the King's Commiſſion, would render them leſs conſiderable in the eyes of the *Chineſe*, and would eſtabliſh a prepoſſeſſion at *Canton* in favour of ſhips of war, by which they, as trading veſſels, would ſuffer in their importance: And I wiſh the affectation of endeavouring to paſs for men of war, and the fear of ſinking in the eſtimation of the *Chineſe*, if the *Centurion* was treated in a different manner from themſelves, had been confined to the officers of the *French* ſhips only. However, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, it ſhould ſeem, that the repreſentation of the Commodore to the *Mandarines* of the facility with which he could right himſelf, if juſtice were denied him, had at laſt its effect: For, on the 6th of *January*, in the morning, the Governor of *Janſon*, the Commodore's Advocate, ſent down the Viceroy of *Canton's* warrant for the refitment of the *Centurion*, and for ſupplying her people with all they wanted; and, the next day, a number of *Chineſe* Smiths and Carpenters went on board, to agree for all the work by the great. They demanded at firſt, to the amount of a thouſand pounds ſterling for the ne-

ceſſary repairs of the ſhip, the boats, and the maſts: This the Commodore ſeemed to think an unreaſonable ſum, and endeavoured to perſuade them to work by the day; but that propoſal they would not hearken to; ſo it was at laſt agreed, that the Carpenters ſhould have to the amount of about ſix hundred pounds for their work; and that the Smiths ſhould be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the ſmall work, and forty-ſix ſhillings for the large.

This being regulated, the Commodore exerted himſelf to get this moſt important buſineſs compleated; I mean, the heaving down the *Centurion*, and examining the ſtate of her bottom: For this purpoſe the firſt Lieutenant was diſpatched to *Canton* to hire two country veſſels, called in their language Junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to ſerve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition. At the ſame time the ground was ſmoothed on one of the neighbouring Iſlands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and proviſions, and near a hundred *Chineſe* Caulkers were ſoon ſet to work on the decks and ſides of the ſhip. But all theſe preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the *Chineſe* Caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious; and it was the 26th of *January* before the junks arrived; and the neceſſary materials, which were to be purchaſed at *Canton*, came down very ſlowly; partly from the diſtance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardneſs of the *Chineſe* Merchants. And in this interval Mr. *Anſon* had the additional perplexity to diſcover,

ver, that his fore-maſt was broken aſunder above the upper deck partners, and was only kept together by the fiſhes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the *Centurion's* people made the moſt of their time, and exerted themſelves the beſt they could; and as, by clearing the ſhip, the Carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to ſecure that effectually, whilſt the other preparations were going forwards. The leak was found to be below the fifteen foot mark, and was principally occaſioned by one of the bolts being wore away and looſe in the joining of the ſtem where it was ſcarfed.

At laſt, all things being prepared, they, on the 22d of *February*, in the morning, hove out the firſt courſe of the *Centurion's* ſtar-board ſide, and had the ſatisfaction to find, that her bottom appeared ſound and good; and, the next day, (having by that time compleated the new ſheathing of the firſt courſe) they righted her again, to ſet up anew the careening rigging which ſtretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ſhip from a ſuſpicion of their careening tackle, till the 3d of *March*; when, having compleated the paying and ſheathing the bottom, which proved to be every where very ſound; they, for the laſt time, righted the ſhip to their great joy; for not only the fatigue of careening had been conſiderable, but they had been apprehenſive of being attacked by the *Spaniards*, whilſt the ſhip was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundleſs; for they learnt afterwards, by a *Portugueſe* veſſel, that the *Spaniards* at *Manila* had been informed, that the *Centurion* was in the *Typa*,

and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the Governor had ſummoned his Council, and had propoſed to them to endeavour to burn her, whilſt ſhe was careening, which was an enterprize, which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger: They were farther told, that this ſcheme was not only propoſed, but reſolved on; and that a Captain of a veſſel had actually undertaken to perform the buſineſs for forty thouſand dollars, which he was not to receive unleſs he ſucceeded; but the Governor pretending that there was no treaſure in the royal cheſt, and inſiſting that the Merchants ſhould advance the money, and they refuſing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped: Perhaps the Merchants ſuſpected, that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thouſand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by ſome who bore the Governor no good will, but with what truth it is difficult to aſcertain.

As ſoon as the *Centurion* was righted, they took in her powder, and gunners ſtores, and proceeded in getting in their guns as faſt as poſſible, and then uſed their utmoſt expedition in repairing the foremaſt, and in compleating the other articles of her refitment. And being thus employed, they were alarmed, on the 10th of *March*, by a *Chineſe* Fiſherman, who brought them intelligence that he had been on board a large *Spaniſh* ſhip off the grand *Ladrone*, and that there were two more in company with her: He added ſeveral particulars to his relation; as that he had brought one of their officers to *Macao*; and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from *Macao* to them: And the better to eſtabliſh the belief of his veracity, he ſaid he deſired no money, if his information ſhould not prove

true,

true. This was presently believed to be the forementioned expedition from *Manila*; and the Commodore immediately fitted his cannon and small arms in the best manner he could for defence; and having then his Pinnace and Cutter in the offing, who had been ordered to examine a *Portuguese* vessel, which was getting under sail, he sent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out strictly: But no such ships ever appeared, and they were soon satisfied, the whole of the story was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reason could induce the fellow to be at such extraordinary pains to impose on them.

It was the beginning of *April* before they had new-rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and before this time the *Chinese* grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the Commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. On the 3d of *April*, two *Mandarine* boats came on board from *Macao* to urge his departure; and this having been often done before, though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr. *Anson* of any affected delays, he at this last message answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not before. On this rebuke the *Chinese* (though it was not in their power to compel him to be gone) immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care that their injunctions should be complied with, that from that time forwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

On

On the 6th of *April*, the *Centurion* weighed from the *Typa*, and warped to the ſouthward; and, by the 15th, ſhe was got into *Macao* road, compleating her water as ſhe paſt along, ſo that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and her whole buſineſs being finiſhed by the 19th, ſhe, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made ſail, and ſtood to ſea.

CHAP. VIII.

From *Macao* to Cape *Eſpiritu Sancto*: The taking of the *Manila* galeon, and returning back again.

THE Commodore was now got to ſea, with his ſhip very well refitted, his ſtores repleniſhed, and an additional ſtock of proviſions on board: His crew too was ſomewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his ſtay at *Macao*, the greateſt part of which were Laſcars or *Indian* ſailors, and ſome few *Dutch*. He gave out at *Macao*, that he was bound to *Batavia*, and thence to *England*; and though the weſterly monſoon was now ſet in, when that paſſage is conſidered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expreſſed in the ſtrength of his ſhip, and the dexterity of his people, he had perſuaded not only his own crew but the people at *Macao* likewiſe, that he propoſed to try this unuſual experiment; ſo that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of *Canton* and *Macao* for their friends at *Batavia*.

But

But his real deſign was of a very different nature: For he knew, that, inſtead of one annual ſhip from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, there would be this year, in all probability, two; ſince, by being before *Acapulco*, he had prevented one of them from putting to ſea the preceding ſeaſon. He therefore reſolved to cruiſe for theſe returning veſſels off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, on the Iſland of *Samal*, which is the firſt land they always make in the *Philippine* Iſlands. And as *June* is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he ſhould get to his intended ſtation time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were ſaid to be ſtout veſſels, mouning forty-four guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himſelf had but two hundred and twenty-ſeven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: But this diſproportion of ſtrength did not deter him, as he knew his ſhip to be much better fitted for a ſea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reaſon to expect that his men would exert themſelves in the moſt extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immenſe wealth of theſe *Manila* galeons.

This project the Commodore had reſolved on in his own thoughts, ever ſince his leaving the coaſt of *Mexico*. And the greateſt mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in *China*, was his apprehenſion, leſt he might be thereby ſo long retarded as to let the galeons eſcape him. Indeed, at *Macao* it was incumbent on him to keep theſe views extremely ſecret; for there being a great intercourſe and a mutual connexion of intereſts between that port and *Manila*, he had reaſon to fear, that, if his deſigns were diſcover-

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ed, intelligence would be immediately ſent to *Manila*, and meaſures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands: But being now at ſea, and entirely clear of the coaſt, he ſummoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his reſolution to cruiſe for the two *Manila* ſhips, of whoſe wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he ſhould chuſe a ſtation, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were ſtout ſhips, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accuſtomed ſpirit, he was certain he ſhould prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at leaſt could not fail of becoming his prize: He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the ſtrength of the ſides of theſe ſhips, and their being impenetrable to cannon-ſhot; that theſe fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of thoſe who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of thoſe preſent weak enough to give credit to ſo abſurd a ſtory: For his own part, he did aſſure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them ſo near, that they ſhould find, his bullets, inſtead of being ſtopped by one of their ſides, ſhould go through them both.

This ſpeech of the Commodore's was received by his people with great joy: For no ſooner had he ended, than they expreſſed their approbation, according to naval cuſtom, by three ſtrenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to ſucceed or periſh, whenever the opportunity preſented itſelf. And now their hopes, which ſince their departure from the coaſt of *Mexico*, had entirely ſubſided, were again revived; and they all perſuaded

ed themſelves, that, notwithſtanding the various caſualties and diſappointments they had hitherto met with, they ſhould yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and ſhould at laſt return home enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy: For firmly relying on the aſſurances of the Commodore, that they ſhould certainly meet with the veſſels, they were all of them too ſanguine to doubt a moment of maſtering them; ſo that they conſidered themſelves as having them already in their poſſeſſion. And this confidence was ſo univerſally ſpread thro' the whole ſhip's company, that, the Commodore having taken ſome *Chineſe* ſheep to ſea with him for his own proviſion, and one day enquiring of his Butcher, why, for ſome time paſt, he had ſeen no mutton at his table, aſking him if all the ſheep were killed, the Butcher very ſeriouſly replied, that there were indeed two ſheep left, but that if his Honour would give him leave, he propoſed to keep thoſe for the entertainment of the General of the galeons.

When the *Centurion* left the port of *Macao*, ſhe ſtood for ſome days to the weſtward; and, on the firſt of *May*, they ſaw part of the Iſland of *Formoſa*; and, ſtanding thence to the ſouthward, they, on the 4th of *May*, were in the latitude of the *Baſhee Iſlands*, as laid down by *Dampier*; but they ſuſpected his account of inaccuracy, as they found that he had been conſiderably miſtaken in the latitude of the South end of *Formoſa*: For this reaſon they kept a good look-out, and about ſeven in the evening diſcovered from the maſt-head five ſmall Iſlands, which were judged to be the *Baſhees*, and they had afterwards a ſight of *Botel Tobago Xima*. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the

the poſition of the *Baſhee Iſlands*, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the weſtward : For by their obſervations, they eſteemed the middle of theſe Iſlands to be in 21° : 4′ North, and to bear from *Botel Tobago Xima* S. S. E. twenty leagues diſtant, that Iſland itſelf being in 21° : 57′ North.

After getting a ſight of the *Baſhee Iſlands*, they ſtood between the S. and S. W. for Cape *Eſpiritu Santo* ; and, the 20th of *May* at noon, they firſt diſcovered that Cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S. S. W. about eleven leagues diſtant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with ſeveral round hummocks on it ; and is exactly repreſented in the fortieth plate. As it was known that there were centinels placed upon this Cape to make ſignals to the *Acapulco* ſhip, when ſhe firſt falls in with the land, the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant ſails to be taken in, to prevent being diſcovered ; and, this being the ſtation in which it was reſolved to cruiſe for the galleons, they kept the Cape between the South and the Weſt, and endeavoured to confine themſelves between the latitude of 12° : 50′, and 13° : 5′, the Cape itſelf lying, by their obſervations, in 12° : 40′ North, and 4° of Eaſt longitude from *Botel Tobago Xima*.

It was the laſt of *May*, by the foreign ſtyle, when they arrived off this Cape ; and, the month of *June*, by the ſame ſtyle, being that in which the *Manila* ſhips are uſually expected, the *Centurion*'s people were now waiting each hour with the utmoſt impatience for the happy criſis which was to ballance the account of all their paſt calamaties. As from this time there was but ſmall employment for the crew,

crew, the Commodore ordered them almoſt every day to be exerciſed in the management of the great guns, and in the uſe of their ſmall arms. This had been his practice, more or leſs, at all convenient ſeaſons during the whole courſe of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. Indeed, it ſhould ſeem that there are few particulars of a Commander's duty of more importance than this, how much ſoever it may have been ſometimes overlooked or miſunderſtood: For it will, I ſuppoſe, be confeſſed, that in two ſhips of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the diſproportion of ſtrength, ariſing from a greater or leſs dexterity in the uſe of their great guns and ſmall arms, is what can ſcarcely be ballanced by any other circumſtances whatever. For, as theſe are the weapons with which they are to engage, what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one ſide ſhould perfectly underſtand the uſe of their weapons, and ſhould have the ſkill to employ them in the moſt effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy, while the other ſide ſhould, by their awkward management of them, render them rather terrible to themſelves, than miſchievous to their antagoniſts? This ſeems ſo plain and natural a concluſion, that a perſon unacquainted with theſe affairs would ſuppoſe the firſt care of a Commander to be the training his people to the uſe of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain dictates of common ſenſe. There are many other principles which influence our tranſactions: And there is one in particular, which, though

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of a very erroneous complexion, is ſcarcely ever excluded from our moſt ſerious deliberations; I mean cuſtom, or the practice of thoſe who have preceded us. This is uſually a power too mighty for reaſon to grapple with; and is the moſt terrible to thoſe who oppoſe it, as it has much of ſuperſtition in its nature, and purſues all thoſe who queſtion its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in theſe latter ages of the world, ſome lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may reaſonably be hoped, that the Gentlemen of the Navy, whoſe particular profeſſion hath of late been conſiderably improved by a number of new inventions, will of all others be the readieſt to give up thoſe practices, which have nothing to plead but preſcription, and will not ſuppoſe that every branch of their buſineſs hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed it muſt be owned, that if a dexterity in the uſe of ſmall arms, for inſtance, hath been ſometimes leſs attended to on board our ſhips of war, than might have been wiſhed for, it hath been rather owing to unſkilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence: For the common ſailors, how ſtrongly ſoever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick ſighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever ſhewn a great contempt for the formalities practiſed in the training of land troops to the uſe of their arms; but when thoſe who have undertaken to inſtruct the ſeamen have contented themſelves with inculcating only what was uſeful, and that in the ſimpleſt manner, they have conſtantly found their people ſufficiently docile, and the ſucceſs hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr. *Anſon's* ſhip, where they were only taught the ſhorteſt method

thod of loading with cartridges, and were conſtantly trained to fire at a mark, which was uſually hung at the yard-arm, and where ſome little reward was given to the moſt expert, the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely ſkilful, quick in loading, all of them good markſmen, and ſome of them moſt extraordinary ones; ſo that I doubt not but, in the uſe of ſmall arms, they were more than a match for double their number, who had not been habituated to the ſame kind of exerciſe. But to return.

It was the laſt of *May*, *N. S.* as hath been already ſaid, when the *Centurion* arrived off Cape *Eſpiritu Santo*; and conſequently the next day began the month in which the galeons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all neceſſary preparations for receiving them, having hoiſted out his long boat, and laſhed her along ſide, that the ſhip might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons in the night. All this time too he was very ſolicitous to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the Cape, as not to be diſcovered: But it hath been ſince learnt, that notwithſtanding his care, he was ſeen from the land; and advice of him was ſent to *Manila*, where it was at firſt diſbelieved, but on reiterated intelligence (for it ſeems he was ſeen more than once) the Merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook (the Commerce ſupplying the neceſſary ſums) to fit out a force conſiſting of two ſhips of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two ſloops of ten guns each, to attack the *Centurion* on her ſtation: And ſome of theſe veſſels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ſhip not being ready, and the monſoon being againſt them, the

Commerce and the Governour disagreed, and the enterprize was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the *Centurion* from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; for the pitch of the Cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of *June* advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day encreased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board; as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruise, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

"*May* 31, Exercising our men at their quarters, "in great expectation of meeting with the galeons "very soon; this being the eleventh of *June* their "stile."

"*June* 3, Keeping in our stations, and looking "out for the galeons."

"*June* 5, Begin now to be in great expecta- "tion, this being the middle of *June* their stile."

"*June* 11, Begin to grow impatient at not seeing "the galeons."

"*June* 13, The wind having blown fresh east- "erly for the forty-eight hours past, gives us great "expectations of seeing the galeons soon."

"*June* 15, Cruizing on and off, and looking out "strictly."

"*June*

" *June* 19, This being the laſt day of *June N. S.* " the galeons, if they arrive at all muſt appear " ſoon."

From theſe ſamples it is ſufficiently evident, how compleatly the treaſure of the galleons had engroſſed their imagination, and how anxiouſly they paſſed the latter part of their cruiſe, when the certainty of the arrival of theſe veſſels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of *June O. S.* being juſt a month from their arrival on their ſtation, they were relieved from this ſtate of uncertainty; when, at ſun-riſe, they diſcovered a ſail from the maſt-head, in the S. E. quarter. On this, a general joy ſpread through the whole ſhip; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected ſoon to ſee the other. The Commodore inſtantly ſtood towards her, and at half an hour after ſeven they were near enough to ſee her from the *Centurion*'s deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top gallant ſails, which was ſuppoſed to be a ſignal to her conſort to haſten her up; and therefore the *Centurion* fired a gun to leeward, to amuſe her. The Commodore was ſurprized to find, that in all this time the galeon did not change her courſe, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the caſe, that ſhe knew his ſhip to be the *Centurion*, and reſolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league diſtant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, ſo that ſhe could not now eſcape; and, no ſecond ſhip appearing, it was concluded that ſhe had been ſeparated from her conſort. Soon after,

the galeon haled up her fore-ſail, and brought too under top-ſails, with her head to the northward, hoiſting *Spaniſh* colours, and having the ſtandard of *Spain* flying at the top-gallant maſthead. Mr. *Anſon* in the mean time had prepared all things for an engagement on board the *Centurion*, and had taken all poſſible care, both for the moſt effectual exertion of his ſmall ſtrength, and for the avoiding the confuſion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choiceſt hands and beſt markſmen, whom he diſtributed into his tops, and who fully anſwered his expectation, by the ſignal ſervices they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a ſufficient number to each great gun, in the cuſtomary manner, he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be ſolely employed in loading it, while the reſt of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, which were conſtantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire ſuch guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make uſe of all his guns; and, inſtead of firing broad-ſides with intervals between them, he kept up a conſtant fire without intermiſſion, whence he doubted not to procure very ſignal advantages; for it is common with the *Spaniards* to fall down upon the decks when they ſee a broadſide preparing, and to continue in that poſture till it is given; after which they riſe again, and, preſuming the danger to be for ſome time over, work their guns, and fire with great briſkneſs, till another broad-ſide is ready: But the firing gun by gun,

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in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impoſſible.

The *Centurion* being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon a-pace, there happened, a little after noon, ſeveral ſqualls of wind and rain, which often obſcured the galeon from their ſight; but whenever it cleared up, they obſerved her reſolutely lying to; and, towards one o'clock, the *Centurion* hoiſted her broad pendant and colours, ſhe being then within gun-ſhot of the enemy. And the Commodore obſerving the *Spaniards* to have neglected clearing their ſhip till that time, as he then ſaw them throwing over-board cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to embaraſs them in their work, and prevent them from compleating it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within piſtol-ſhot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her ſtern-chaſe, and, the *Centurion* getting her ſprit-ſail-yard fore and aft, that if neceſſary ſhe might be ready for boarding, the *Spaniards* in a bravado rigged their ſprit-ſail-yard fore and aft likewiſe. Soon after, the *Centurion* came a-breaſt of the enemy within piſtol-ſhot, keeping to the leeward with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind, and gaining the port of *Jalapay*, from which they were about ſeven leagues diſtant. And now the engagement began in earneſt, and for the firſt half hour, Mr. *Anſon* over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideneſs of his ports he could traverſe almoſt all his guns upon the enemy, whilſt the galeon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately, on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the ga-

leon had ſtuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the *Centurion*'s wads) threw the enemy into great confuſion, and at the ſame time alarmed the Commodore, for he feared leſt the galeon ſhould be burnt, and leſt he himſelf too might ſuffer by her driving on board him: But the *Spaniards* at laſt freed themſelves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole maſs which was in flames, into the ſea. But ſtill the *Centurion* kept her firſt advantageous poſition, firing her cannon with great regularity and briſkneſs, whilſt at the ſame time the galeon's decks lay open to her top men, who, having at their firſt volley driven the *Spaniards* from their tops, made prodigious havock with their ſmall arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galeon himſelf. And though the *Centurion*, after the firſt half hour, loſt her original ſituation, and was cloſe along ſide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briſkly for near an hour longer, yet at laſt the Commodore's grape-ſhot ſwept their decks ſo effectually, and the number of their ſlain and wounded was ſo conſiderable, that they began to fall into great diſorder, eſpecially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himſelf. Their embarraſment was viſible from on board the Commodore. For the ſhips were ſo near, that ſome of the *Spaniſh* officers were ſeen running about with great aſſiduity, to prevent the deſertion of their men from their quarters: But all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a

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laſt effort, fired five or ſix guns with more judgment than uſual, they gave up the conteſt; and the galeon's colours being ſinged off the enſign-ſtaff in the beginning of the engagement, ſhe ſtruck the ſtandard at her main-top-gallant maſt-head, the perſon who was employed to do it, having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given expreſs orders to his people to deſiſt from firing.

Thus was the *Centurion* poſſeſſed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the *Noſtra Signora de Cabadonga*, and was commanded by the General *Don Jeronimo de Montero*, a *Portugueſe* by birth, and the moſt approved officer for ſkill and courage of any employed in that ſervice. The galeon was much larger than the *Centurion*, had five hundred and fifty men and thirty-ſix guns mounted for action, beſides twenty-eight pidreroes in her gun-wale, quarters and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furniſhed with ſmall-arms, and was particularly provided againſt boarding, both by her cloſe quarters, and by a ſtrong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waiſt, and was defended by half pikes. She had ſixty-ſeven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilſt the *Centurion* had only two killed, and a Lieutenant and ſixteen wounded, all of whom, but one, recovered: Of ſo little conſequence are the moſt deſtructive arms in untutored and unpractiſed hands.

The treaſure thus taken by the *Centurion* having been for at leaſt eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the

tranſport on board, when, after all their reiterated diſappointments, they at laſt ſaw their wiſhes accompliſhed. But their joy was near being ſuddenly damped by a moſt tremendous incident: For no ſooner had the galeon ſtruck, than one of the Lieutenants coming to Mr. *Anſon* to congratulate him on his prize, whiſpered him at the ſame time, that the *Centurion* was dangerouſly on fire near the powder-room. The Commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the neceſſary orders for extinguiſhing it, which was happily done in a ſhort time, though its appearance at firſt was extremely terrible. It ſeems ſome cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, whereby a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch way, near the after powder-room, was ſet on fire; and the great ſmother and ſmoke of the oakum occaſioned the apprehenſion of a more extended and miſchievous fire. At the ſame inſtant too, the galeon fell on board the *Centurion* on the ſtarboard quarter, but ſhe was cleared without doing or receiving any conſiderable damage.

The Commodore made his firſt Lieutenant, Mr. *Saumarez*, Captain of this prize, appointing her a poſt-ſhip in his Majeſty's ſervice. Captain *Saumarez*, before night, ſent on board the *Centurion* all the *Spaniſh* priſoners, but ſuch as were thought the moſt proper to be retained to aſſiſt in navigating the galeon. And now the Commodore learnt, from ſome of theſe priſoners, that the other ſhip, which he had kept in the port of *Acapulco* the preceding year, inſtead of returning in company with the preſent prize as was expected, had ſet ſail from *Acapulco* alone much ſooner than

uſual,

uſual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of *Manila* long before the *Centurion* arrived off *Eſpiritu Santo*; ſo that Mr. *Anſon*, notwithſtanding his preſent ſucceſs, had great reaſon to regret his loſs of time at *Macao*, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes inſtead of one.

The Commodore, when the action was ended, reſolved to make the beſt of his way with his prize for the river of *Canton*, being in the mean time fully employed in ſecuring his priſoners, and in removing the treaſure from on board the galeon into the *Centurion*. The laſt of theſe operations was too important to be poſtponed; for as the navigation to *Canton* was through ſeas but little known, and where, from the ſeaſon of the year, much bad weather might be expected, it was of great conſequence that the treaſure ſhould be ſent on board the *Centurion*, which ſhip, by the preſence of the Commander in Chief, the greater number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtleſs much ſafer againſt all the caſualties of winds and ſeas than the galeon; and the ſecuring the priſoners was a matter of ſtill more conſequence, as not only the poſſeſſion of the treaſure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and diſquietude; for they were above double the number of his own people; and ſome of them, when they were brought on board the *Centurion*, and had obſerved how ſlenderly ſhe was manned, and the large proportion which the ſtriplings bore to the reſt, could not help expreſſing themſelves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method, which was taken to hinder them from

rising, was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatch-ways were left open; but then (to avoid all danger, whilst the *Centurion*'s people should be employed upon the deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatch-way on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; these funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them; and, at the same time, added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extreamly difficult for the *Spaniards* to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel-guns loaded with musquet-bullets were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a centinel with lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, which amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first Lieutenant's cabin, under a constant guard of six men; and the General, as he was wounded, lay in the Commodore's cabbin with a centinel always with him; and they were all informed, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the *Centurion*'s people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small-arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his cloaths, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.

These

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the Commodore and his people would have been exposed, had they been less careful. Indeed, the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathsome, beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and an half. All this considered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who died the same night they were taken; though it must be confessed, that the greatest part of them were strangely metamorphosed by the heat of the hold; for when they were first taken, they were sightly, robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of *Canton*, they were reduced to mere skeletons; and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the Commodore, as hath been said, stood for the river of *Canton*; and, on the 30th of *June*, at six in the evening, got sight of Cape *Delangano*, which then bore west ten leagues distant; and, the next day, he made the *Bashee Islands*, and the wind being so far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand thorough between *Grafton* and *Monmouth Islands*, where the passage seemed to be

be clear; but in getting through, the ſea had a very dangerous aſpect, for it ripled and foamed, as if it had been full of breakers, which was ſtill more terrible, as it was then night. But the ſhips got through very ſafe, (the prize always keeping a-head) and it was found that the appearance which had alarmed them had been occaſioned only by by a ſtrong tide. I muſt here obſerve, that tho' the *Baſhee Iſlands* are uſually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the weſtward, which, as the channels amongſt them are not at all known, makes it adviſeable for ſhips, rather to paſs to the northward or ſouthward, than through them: and indeed the Commodore propoſed to have gone to the northward between them and *Formoſa*, had it been poſſible for him to have weathered them. From hence the *Centurion* ſteering the proper courſe for the river of *Canton*, ſhe, on the 18th of *July*, diſcovered the Iſland of *Supata*, the weſtermoſt of the *Lema* Iſlands, being the double-peaked rock, particularly delineated in the view of the Iſlands of *Lema*, formerly referred to. This Iſland of *Supata* they made to be an hundred and thirty-nine leagues diſtant from *Grafton*'s Iſland, and to bear from it North 82° 37 Weſt: And, on the 11th, having taken on board two *Chineſe* Pilots, one for the *Centurion*, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of *Macao*.

By this time the particulars of the cargoe of the galeon were well aſcertained, and it was found that ſhe had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 *oz.* of virgin ſilver, beſides ſome cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of ſmall account, in compariſon of the

the ſpecie. And this being the Commodore's laſt prize, it hence appears, that all the treaſure taken by the *Centurion* was not much ſhort of 400,000 *l.* independent of the ſhips and merchandize, which ſhe either burnt or deſtroyed, and which, by the moſt reaſonable eſtimation, could not amount to ſo little as 600,000 *l.* more; ſo that the whole loſs of the enemy, by our ſquadron, did doubtleſs exceed a million ſterling. To which, if there be added the great expence of the Court of *Spain*, in fitting out *Pizarro*, and in paying the additional charges in *America*, incurred on our account, together with the loſs of their men of war, the total of all theſe articles will be a moſt exorbitant ſum, and is the ſtrongeſt conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous diſadvantages, did yet prove ſo extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I ſhall only add, that there were taken on board the galeon ſeveral draughts and journals, from ſome of which many of the particulars recited in the 10th chapter of the ſecond book are collected. Among the reſt there was found a chart of all the Ocean, between the *Philippines* and the coaſt of *Mexico*, which was what was made uſe of by the galeon in her own navigation. A copy of this draught, corrected in ſome places by our own obſervation, is here annexed, together with the route of the galeon traced thereon from her own journals, and likewiſe the route of the *Centurion*, from *Acapulco* through the ſame Ocean. This is the chart formerly referred to, in the account of the *Manila* trade: And, to render it ſtill more compleat, the obſerved variation of the needle is annexed to ſeveral parts both of the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* track; which

which addition is of the greateſt conſequence, as no obſervations of this kind in the northern parts of the *Pacific* Ocean have yet to my knowledge been publiſhed, and as the quantity of the variation ſo nearly correſponds to what Dr. *Halley* predicted from his Theory, above fifty years ago. And with this digreſſion I ſhall end this chapter, leaving the *Centurion* with her prize at anchor off *Macao*, preparing to enter the river of *Canton*.

CHAP. IX.

Tranſactions in the river of *Canton*.

THE Commodore, having taken Pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of *Canton*; and, on the 14th of *July*, came to an anchor ſhort of the *Bocca Tigris*, which is a narrow paſſage forming the mouth of that river: This entrance he propoſed to ſtand through the next day, and to run up as far as *Tiger Iſland*, which is a very ſafe road, ſecured from all winds. But whilſt the *Centurion* and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer came off from the *Mandarine*, commanding the forts at *Bocca Tigris* to examine what the ſhips were, and whence they came. Mr. *Anſon* informed the officer, that his ſhip was a ſhip of war, belonging to the King of *Great-Britain*; and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into *Canton* river to ſhelter himſelf againſt the hurricanes which were then coming on; and that as ſoon as the monſoon ſhifted, he ſhould

proceed

proceed for *England*. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a list of all which he said was to be sent to the Government of *Canton*. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly when he was told that there were in the *Centurion* four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, saying, that no ships ever came into *Canton* river armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the whole of this force, lest it should too much alarm the Regency. After he had finished his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave the two Custom-house officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that though as a man of war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind, yet, for the satisfaction of the *Chinese*, he would permit of two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr. *Anson* mentioned being exempted from all duties, and told him, that the Emperor's duty must be paid by all ships that came into his ports: And it is supposed, that on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the *Chinese* Pilot, not to carry the Commodore through the *Bocca Tigris*; which makes it necessary, more particularly to describe that entrance.

The *Bocca Tigris* is a narrow passage, little more than musquet-shot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the starboard side being a battery on the water's edge,

with

with eighteen embraſures, but where there were no more than twelve iron canon mounted, ſeeming to be four or ſix pounders; the fort on the larboard-ſide is a large caſtle, reſembling thoſe old buildings which here in *England* we often find diſtinguiſhed by that name; it is ſituated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furniſhed with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were ſuppoſed to exceed ſix pounders. Theſe are the defences which ſecure the river of *Canton*; and which the *Chineſe* (extremely defective in all military ſkill) have imagined were ſufficient to prevent any enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the deſcription of theſe forts, that they could have given no obſtruction to Mr. *Anſon*'s paſſage, even if they had been well ſupplied with gunners and ſtores; and therefore, though the Pilot, after the *Chineſe* officer had been on board, refuſed at firſt to take charge of the ſhip, till he had leave from the forts, yet as it was neceſſary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the Commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the Pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that, if the ſhip ran aground, he would inſtantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The Pilot, awed by theſe threats, carried the ſhip through ſafely, the forts not attempting to diſpute the paſſage. Indeed the poor Pilot did not eſcape the reſentment of his countrymen, for when he came on ſhore, he was ſeized and ſent to priſon, and was rigourouſly diſciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. *Anſon* afterwards, to deſire of him ſome recompence for the chaſtiſement he had undergone, and of which he

he then carried very ſignificant marks about him; and Mr. *Anſon*, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, gave him ſuch a ſum of money, as would at any time have enticed a *Chineſe* to have undergone a dozen baſtinadings.

Nor was the Pilot the only perſon that ſuffered on this occaſion; for the Commodore ſoon after ſeeing ſome royal junks paſs by him from *Bocca Tigris* towards *Canton*, he learnt, on enquiry, that the *Mandarine* commanding the forts was a priſoner on board them; that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to *Canton*, where it was expected he would be ſeverely puniſhed for having permitted the ſhips to paſs; and the Commodore urging the unreaſonableneſs of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwiſe, explaining to the *Chineſe* the great ſuperiority his ſhips would have had over the forts, by the number and ſize of their guns, the *Chineſe* ſeemed to acquieſce in his reaſoning, and allowed that their forts could not have ſtopped him; but they ſtill aſſerted, that the *Mandarine* would infallibly ſuffer, for not having done, what all his judges were convinced, was impoſſible. To ſuch indefenſible abſurdities are thoſe obliged to ſubmit, who think themſelves concerned to ſupport their authority, when the neceſſary force is wanting. But to return:

On the 16th of *July* the Commodore ſent his ſecond Lieutenant to *Canton*, with a letter to the Viceroy, informing him of the reaſon of the *Centurion's* putting into that port; and that the Commodore himſelf ſoon propoſed to repair to *Canton*, to pay a viſit to the Viceroy. The Lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promiſed that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to the Commodore the next day.

In the mean time Mr. *Anſon* gave leave to ſeveral of the officers of the galeon to go to *Canton*, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When theſe priſoners got to *Canton*, the Regency ſent for them, and examined them, enquiring particularly by what means they had fallen into Mr. *Anſon's* power. And on this occaſion the priſoners were honeſt enough to declare, that as the Kings of *Great-Britain* and of *Spain* were at war, they had propoſed to themſelves the taking of the *Centurion*, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes: However, they acknowledged that they had been treated by the Commodore, much better than they believed they ſhould have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confeſſion from an enemy had great weight with the *Chineſe*, who, till then, though they had revered the Commodore's power, had yet ſuſpected his morals, and had conſidered him rather as a lawleſs freebooter, than as one commiſſioned by the State for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important perſon; to which perhaps the vaſt treaſure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquiſition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the eſtimation and reverence of the *Chineſe* Nation.

In this examination of the *Spaniſh* priſoners, though the *Chineſe* had no reaſon in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumſtances which appeared to them ſo ſingular, as to deſerve a more ample explanation; one of them was the great diſproportion of men between the *Centurion* and the galeon; the other was the humanity, with which the people of the

galeon

galeon were treated after they were taken. The *Mandarines* therefore aſked the *Spaniards*, how they came to be overpowered by ſo inferior a force; and how it happened, ſince the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they came into the hands of the *Engliſh*. To the firſt of theſe enquiries the *Spaniards* replied, that tho' they had more hands than the *Centurion*, yet ſhe being intended ſolely for war had a great ſuperiority in the ſize of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galeon, which was a veſſel fitted out principally for traffic: And as to the ſecond queſtion, they told the *Chineſe*, that amongſt the nations of *Europe*, it was not cuſtomary to put to death thoſe who ſubmitted; though they readily owned, that the Commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unuſual courteſy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed between nations at war with each other. Theſe replies fully ſatisfied the *Chineſe*, and at the ſame time wrought very powerfully in the Commodore's favour.

On the 20th of *July*, in the morning, three *Mandarines*, with a great number of boats, and a vaſt retinue, came on board the *Centurion*, and delivered to the Commodore the Viceroy of *Canton's* order for a daily ſupply of proviſions, and for Pilots to carry the ſhips up the river as far as the ſecond bar; and at the ſame time they delivered him a meſſage from the Viceroy, in anſwer to the letter ſent to *Canton*. The ſubſtance of the meſſage was, that the Viceroy deſired to be excuſed from receiving the Commodore's viſit, during the then exceſ-

ſive hot weather; becauſe the aſſembling the *Mandarines* and ſoldiers, neceſſary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in *September*, when the weather would be more temperate, he ſhould be glad to ſee both the Commodore himſelf, and the *Engliſh* Captain of the other ſhip, that was with him. As Mr. *Anſon* knew that an expreſs had been diſpatched to the Court at *Pekin*, with an account of the *Centurion* and her prize being arrived in the river of *Canton*, he had no doubt, but the principal motive for putting off this viſit was, that the Regency at *Canton* might gain time to receive the Emperor's inſtructions, about their behaviour on this unuſual affair.

When the *Mandarines* had delivered their meſſage, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ſhips; but he immediately told them, that he would never ſubmit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandize thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reaſonably deemed to be within the meaning of the Emperor's orders, which were doubtleſs calculated for trading veſſels only, adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accuſtomed to their reception, and that his Maſter's orders expreſly forbad him from paying any acknowledgment for his ſhips anchoring in any port whatever.

The *Mandarines* being thus cut ſhort on the ſubject of the duty, they ſaid they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a requeſt to the Commodore, that he would releaſe the priſoners he had taken on board the galeon; for that the Viceroy of *Canton* apprehended the Emperor, his Maſter, might

might be diſpleaſed, if he ſhould be informed, that perſons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his ſubjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. *Anſon* was himſelf extremely deſirous to get rid of the *Spaniards*, having, on his firſt arrival, ſent about an hundered of them to *Macao*, and thoſe who remained, which were near four hundred more, were on many accounts, a great incumbrance to him. However, to inhance the favour, he at firſt raiſed ſome difficulties; put permitting himſelf to be prevailed on, he at laſt told the *Mandarines*, that to ſhow his readineſs to oblige the Viceroy, he would releaſe the priſoners, whenever they, the *Chineſe*, would ſend boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjuſted, the *Mandarines* departed; and, on the 28th of *July*, two *Chineſe* junks were ſent from *Canton*, to take on board the priſoners, and to carry them to *Macao*. And the Commodore, agreeable to his promiſe, diſmiſſed them all, and ordered his Purſer to ſend with them eight days proviſion for their ſubſiſtance, during their ſailing down the river; this being diſpatched, the *Centurion* and her prize came to her moorings, above the ſecond bar, where they propoſed to continue till the monſoon ſhifted.

Though the ſhips, in conſequence of the Viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchaſing proviſions for their daily conſumption, yet it was impoſſible for the Commodore to proceed to *England*, without laying in a large quantity both of proviſions and ſtores for his uſe, during the voyage: The procuring this ſupply was attended with much embaraſment; for there were people at *Canton* who had undertaken to furniſh him with biſcuit, and

whatever elſe he wanted; and his Linguiſt, towards the middle of *September*, had aſſured him, from day to day, that all was ready, and would be ſent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapſed, and nothing being brought, the Commodore ſent to *Canton* to enquire more particularly into the reaſons of this diſappointment: And he had ſoon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illuſion; that no order had been procured from the Viceroy, to furniſh him with his ſea-ſtores, as had been pretended; that there was no biſcuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readineſs, which had been promiſed him; nor did it appear, that the Contractors had taken the leaſt ſtep to comply with their agreement. This was moſt diſagreeable news, and made it ſuſpected, that the furniſhing the *Centurion* for her return to *Great-Britain* might prove a more troubleſome matter than had been hitherto imagined; eſpecially too, as the month of *September* was nearly elapſed, without Mr. *Anſon's* having received any meſſage from the Viceroy of *Canton*.

And here perhaps it might be expected that ſome ſatisfactory account ſhould be given of the motives of the *Chineſe* for this faithleſs procedure. But as I have already, in a former chapter, made ſome kind of conjectures about a ſimilar event, I ſhall not repeat them again in this place, but ſhall obſerve, that after all, it may perhaps be impoſſible for an *European*, ignorant of the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, to be fully apprized of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be aſſerted, that in artifice, falſhood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the *Chineſe* are difficult to be paralleled by

any other people; but then the combination of these talents and the manner in which they are applied in particular emergencies, are often beyond the reach of a Foreigner's penetration: So that tho' it may be safely concluded, that the *Chinese* had some interest in thus amusing the Commodore, yet it may not be easy to assign the individual views by which they were influenced. And that I may not be thought too severe in ascribing to this Nation a fraudulent and selfish turn of temper, so contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the *Roman* Missionaries, I shall here mention an extraordinary transaction or two, which I hope will be some kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the Commodore lay first at *Macao*, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, desired leave of him to go on shore every day on a neighbouring Island, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the restoring of his health: The Commodore would have dissuaded him, suspecting the tricks of the *Chinese*, but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him. The first day he was put on shore he took his exercise, and returned without receiving any molestation, or even seeing any of the inhabitants; but the second day, he was assaulted, soon after his arrival, by a great number of *Chinese* who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him so violently with the handles of their hoes, that they soon laid him on the ground incapable of resistance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his sword, the hilt of which was silver, his money, his watch, gold-headed cane, snuff-box, sleeve-buttons, and hat,

with ſeveral other trinkets: In the mean time the boat's crew, who were at ſome little diſtance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any aſſiſtance; till at laſt one of them flew on the fellow who had the ſword in his poſſeſſion, and wreſting it out of his hands drew it, and with it was preparing to fall on the *Chineſe*, ſome of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to deſiſt, thinking it more prudent to ſubmit to the preſent violence, than to embroil his Commodore in an inextricable ſquabble with the *Chineſe* Government, by the death of their ſubjects; which calmneſs in this Gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a perſon of an uncommon ſpirit, and of a ſomewhat haſty temper: By this means the *Chineſe* recovered the poſſeſſion of the ſword, which they ſoon perceived was prohibited to be made uſe of againſt them, and carried off their whole booty unmoleſted. No ſooner were they gone, than a *Chineſe* on horſeback, very well dreſſed, and who had the air and appearance of a Gentleman, came down to the ſhore, and, as far as could be underſtood by his ſigns, ſeemed to cenſure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiſerate the officer, being wonderfully officious to aſſiſt in getting him on board the boat: But notwithſtanding this behaviour, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully evince the juſtice of thoſe ſuſpicions.

When the boat returned on board, and reported what had paſſed to the Commodore, he immediately complained of it to the *Mandarine*, who attended to ſee his ſhip ſupplied; but the *Mandarine* coolly replied, that the boat ought not to have gone on

ſhore,

ſhore, promiſing, however, that if the thieves could be found out, they ſhould be puniſhed; though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of anſwering, that he would never give himſelf any trouble in ſearching them out. However, a conſiderable time afterwards, when ſome *Chineſe* boats were ſelling proviſions to the *Centurion*, the perſon who had wreſted the ſword from the *Chineſe* came with great eagerneſs to the Commodore, to aſſure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a proviſion-boat along-ſide the ſhip; and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembring his face, orders were immediately given to ſeize him; and he was accordingly ſecured on board the ſhip, where ſtrange diſcoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being firſt apprehended, expreſſed ſo much fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the ſpot; the *Mandarine* too, who attended the ſhip, had viſibly no ſmall ſhare of concern on the occaſion. Indeed he had reaſon enough to be alarmed, ſince it was ſoon evinced, that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the Commodore declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himſelf order him to be ſhot, the *Mandarine* immediately put off the magiſterial air, with which he had at firſt pretended to demand him, and begged his releaſe in the moſt abject manner: And the Commodore appearing inflexible, there came on board, in leſs than two hours time, five or ſix of the neighbouring *Mandarines*, who all joined in the ſame intreaty, and with a view of facilitating their ſuit, offered a large ſum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilſt they were thus ſolliciting, it was diſcovered

covered that the *Mandarine*, who was the moſt active among them, and who ſeemed to be moſt intereſted in the event, was the very Gentleman, who came to the officer, juſt after the robbery, and who pretended to be ſo much diſpleaſed with the villany of his countrymen. And, on further inquiry it was found, that he was the *Mandarine* of the Iſland; and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the Peaſants to commit that infamous action. And it ſeemed, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were caſually thrown out, that he and his brethren, who were all privy to the tranſaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at *Canton*, where the firſt article of their puniſhment would be the ſtripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chaſtiſement ſo lucrative to themſelves) were perhaps of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr. *Anſon* was not diſpleaſed to have caught the *Chineſe* in this dilemma; and he entertained himſelf for ſome time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with ſcorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief ſhould certainly be ſhot; but as he then foreſaw that he ſhould be forced to take ſhelter in their ports a ſecond time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the Magiſtrates would be of great ſervice to him, he at length permitted himſelf to be perſuaded, and as a favour releaſed his priſoner, but not till the *Mandarine* had collected and returned all that had been ſtolen from the officer, even to the minuteſt trifle.

But notwithſtanding this inſtance of the good intelligence between the magiſtrates and criminals, the ſtrong addiction of the *Chineſe* to lucre often

prompts

prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them of its proper quota of the pillage. For not long after the above-mentioned tranſaction, (the former *Mandarine*, attendant on the ſhip; being, in the mean time, relieved by another) the Commodore loſt a top-moſt from his ſtern, which, after the moſt diligent inquiry, could not be traced: As it was not his own, but had been borrowed at *Macao* to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely deſirous to recover it, and publiſhed a conſiderable reward to any who would bring it him again. There were ſuſpicions from the firſt of its being ſtolen, which made him conclude a reward was the likelieſt method of getting it back: Accordingly, ſoon after, the *Mandarine* told him, that ſome of his, the *Mandarine's*, people, had found the top-maſt, deſiring the Commodore to ſend his boats to fetch it, which being done, the *Mandarine's* people received the promiſed reward; but the Commodore told the *Mandarine*, that he would make him a preſent beſides for the care he had taken in directing it to be ſearched for; and accorrdingly, Mr. *Anſon* gave a ſum of money to his Linguiſt, to be delivered to the *Mandarine*; but the Linguiſt knowing that the people had been paid, and ignorant that a further preſent had been promiſed, kept the money himſelf: However, the *Mandarine* fully confiding in Mr. *Anſon's* word, and ſuſpecting the Linguiſt, he took occaſion, one morning, to admire the ſize of the *Centurion's* maſts, and thence, on a pretended ſudden recollection, he made a digreſſion to the top-maſt which had been loſt, and aſked Mr. *Anſon* if he had not got it again.

Mr.

Mr. *Anſon* preſently perceived the bent of this converſation, and enquired of him, if he had not received the money from the Linguiſt, and finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the ſpot. But this the *Mandarine* refuſed, having now ſomewhat more in view than the ſum which had been detained: For the next day the Linguiſt was ſeized, and was doubtleſs mulcted of all he had gotten in the Commodore's ſervice, which was ſuppoſed to be little leſs than two thouſand dollars; he was beſides ſo ſeverely baſtinadoed with the bamboo, that it was with difficulty he eſcaped with his life; and when he was upbraided by the Commodore (to whom he afterwards came begging) with his folly, in riſquing all he had ſuffered for fifty dollars, (the preſent intended for the *Mandarine*) he had no other excuſe to make than the ſtrong bias of his Nation to diſhoneſty, replying, in his broken jargon, *Chineſe man very great rogue truly, but have faſhion, no can help.*

It were endleſs to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds which were practiſed on the Commodore and his people, by this intereſted race. The method of buying all things in *China* being by weight, the tricks made uſe of by the *Chineſe* to increaſe the weight of the proviſion they ſold to the *Centurion*, were almoſt incredible. One time a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ſhip's uſe, the greateſt part of them preſently died. This alarmed the people on board with the apprehenſions that they had been killed by poiſon; but on examination it appeared, that it was only owing to their being crammed with ſtones and gravel to increaſe their weight, the quantity thus forced into moſt of the ducks being found to amount to ten

ounces

ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the *Chineſe* Butchers, had water injected into them for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that a carcaſs, hung up all night for the water to drain from it, hath loſt above a ſtone of its weight; and when to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that the *Chineſe* gave them ſalt to increaſe their thirſt, and having by this means excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took meaſures to prevent them from diſcharging it again by urine, and ſold the tortured animal in this inflated ſtate. When the Commodore firſt put to ſea from *Macao*, they practiſed an artifice of another kind; for as the *Chineſe* never object to the eating of any food that dies of itſelf, they took care, by ſome ſecret practices, that great part of his live ſea-ſtore ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board, hoping to make a ſecond profit of the dead carcaſſes which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two thirds of the hogs dying before the *Centurion* was out of ſight of land, many of the *Chineſe* boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. Theſe inſtances may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manners of this celebrated Nation, which is often recommended to the reſt of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities. But to return:

The Commodore, towards the end of *September*, having found out (as has been ſaid) that thoſe, who had contracted to ſupply him with ſea-proviſions and ſtores, had deceived him, and that the Viceroy had not ſent to him according to his promiſe, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to ſurmount the embaraſment he was under, without going himſelf to *Canton*, and viſiting the Viceroy; and

and therefore, on the 27th of *September*, he ſent a meſſage to the *Mandarine*, who attended the *Centurion*, to inform him that he, the Commodore, intended, on the firſt of *October*, to proceed in his boat to *Canton*; adding, that the day after he got there, he ſhould notify his arrival to the Viceroy, and ſhould deſire him to fix a time for his audience; to which the *Mandarine* returned no other anſwer, than that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition: And the boat's crew in particular, which Mr. *Anſon* propoſed to take with him, were cloathed in an uniform dreſs, reſembling that of the Watermen on the *Thames*; they were in number eighteen and a Coxſwain; they had ſcarlet jackets and blue ſilk waiſtcoats, the whole trimmed with ſilver buttons, and with ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even aſſerted, that the payment of the cuſtomary duties for the *Centurion* and her prize, would be demanded by the Regency of *Canton*, and would be inſiſted on previous to the granting a permiſſion for victualling the ſhip for her future voyage; the Commodore, who was reſolved never to eſtabliſh ſo diſhonourable a precedent, took all poſſible precaution to prevent the *Chineſe* from facilitating the ſucceſs of their unreaſonable pretenſions, by having him in their power at *Canton*: And therefore, for the ſecurity of his ſhip, and the great treaſure on board her, he appointed his firſt Lieutenant, Mr. *Brett*, to be Captain of the *Centurion* under him, giving him proper inſtructions for his conduct; directing him, particularly, if he, the Commodore, ſhould be detained at *Canton* on account of the duties in diſpute, to take

take out the men from the *Centurion's* prize, and to deſtroy her; and then to proceed down the river through the *Bocca Tigris*, with the *Centurion* alone, and to remain without that entrance, till he received further orders from Mr. *Anſon*.

Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, which were not unknown to the *Chineſe*, it ſhould ſeem as if their deliberations were in ſome ſort embaraſſed thereby. It is reaſonable to imagine, that they were in general very deſirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not perhaps ſolely in conſideration of the amount for thoſe dues, but to keep up their reputation for addreſs and ſubtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims, on which they had already ſo frequently inſiſted. However, as they now foreſaw that they had no other method of ſucceeding than by violence, and that even againſt this the Commodore was prepared, they were at laſt diſpoſed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themſelves in an hoſtile meaſure, which they found would only expoſe them to the riſque of having the whole navigation of their port deſtroyed, without any certain proſpect of gaining their favourite point thereby.

However, though there is reaſon to imagine that theſe were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evaſive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. For when the Commodore, on the morning of the firſt of *October*, was preparing to ſet out for *Canton*, his Linguiſt came to him from the *Mandarine*, who attended his ſhip, to tell him that a letter had been received from the Viceroy of *Canton*, deſiring the Commodore to put off his going thither for two or three

three days: But in the afternoon of the ſame day, another Linguiſt came on board, who, with much ſeeming fright, told Mr. *Anſon*, that the Viceroy had expected him up that day, that the Council was aſſembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the Viceroy was highly offended at the diſappointment, and had ſent the Commodore's Linguiſt to priſon chained, ſuppoſing that the whole had been owing to the Linguiſt's negligence. This plauſible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was ſome treachery deſigned him, which he could not yet fathom; and though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the leaſt foundation, yet (for reaſons beſt known to themſelves) this falſhood was ſo well ſupported by the artifices of the *Chineſe* Merchants at *Canton*; that, three days afterwards, the Commodore received a letter ſigned by all the ſupercargoes of the *Engliſh* ſhips then at that place, expreſſing their great uneaſineſs at what had happened, and intimating their fears that ſome inſult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the Viceroy was fully ſatisfied about the miſtake. To this letter Mr. *Anſon* replied, that he did not believe there had been any miſtake; but was perſuaded it was a forgery of the *Chineſe* to prevent his viſiting the Viceroy; that therefore he would certainly come up to *Canton* on the 13th of *October*, confident that the *Chineſe* would not dare to offer him an inſult, as well knowing it would be properly returned.

On the 13th of *October*, the Commodore continuing firm to his reſolution, all the ſupercargoes of the *Engliſh*, *Daniſh*, and *Swediſh* ſhips came on board

board the *Centurion*, to accompany him to *Canton*, for which place he ſet out in his barge the ſame day, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading ſhips, which on this occaſion came to form his retinue; and as he paſſed by *Wampo*, where the *European* veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them but the *French*, and in the evening he arrived ſafely at *Canton*. His reception at that city, and the moſt material tranſactions from henceforward, till his arrival in *Great-Britain*, ſhall be the ſubject of the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. X.

Proceedings at the city of *Canton*, and the return of the *Centurion* to *England*.

WHEN the Commodore arrived at *Canton*; he was viſited by the principal *Chineſe* Merchants, who affected to appear very much pleaſed that he had met with no obſtruction in getting thither, and who thence pretended to conclude, that the Viceroy was ſatisfied about the former miſtake, the reality of which they ſtill inſiſted of; they added, that as ſoon as the Viceroy ſhould be informed that Mr. *Anſon* was at *Canton*, (which they promiſed ſhould be done the next morning) they were perſuaded a day would be immediately appointed for the viſit, which was the principal buſineſs that had brought the Commodore thither.

The next day the Merchants returned to Mr. *Anſon*, and told him, that the Viceroy was then ſo fully employed in preparing his diſpatches for *Pe-*

kin, that there was no getting admittance to him for ſome days; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his Court to give them information, as ſoon as he ſhould be at leiſure, when they propoſed to notify Mr. *Anſon's* arrival, and to endeavour to fix the day of audience. The Commodore was by this time too well acquainted with their artifices, not to perceive that this was a falſhood; and had he conſulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the Viceroy by other hands: But the *Chineſe* Merchant had ſo far prepoſſeſſed the ſupercargoes of our ſhips with chimerical fears, that they (the ſupercargoes) were extremely apprehenſive of being embroiled with the Government, and of ſuffering in their intereſt, if thoſe meaſure were taken, which appeared to Mr. *Anſon* at that time to be the moſt prudential: And therefore, leaſt the malice and double-dealing of the *Chineſe* might have given riſe to ſome ſiniſter incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he reſolved to continue paſſive, as long as it ſhould appear that he loſt no time, by thus ſuſpending his own opinion. With this view, he promiſed not to take any immediate ſtep himſelf for getting admittance to the Viceroy, provided the *Chineſe* with whom he contracted for proviſions, would let him ſee that his bread was baked, his meat ſalted, and his ſtores prepared with the utmoſt diſpatch: But if by the time when all was in readineſs to be ſhipped off, (which it was ſuppoſed would be in about forty days) the Merchants ſhould not have procured the Viceroy's permiſſion, then the Commodore propoſed to apply for it himſelf. Theſe were the terms Mr. *Anſon* thought proper to offer, to quiet the uneaſineſs of the ſupercargoes; and

and notwithſtanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the *Chineſe* agree to them, till the Commodore had conſented to pay for every article he beſpoke before it was put in hand. However, at laſt the contract being paſt, it was ſome ſatisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on, and being himſelf on the ſpot, he took care to haſten them as much as poſſible.

During this interval, in which the ſtores and proviſions were getting ready, the Merchants continually entertained Mr. *Anſon* with accounts of their various endeavours to get a licence from the Viceroy, and their frequent diſappointments; which to him was now a matter of amuſement, as he was fully ſatisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they ſaid. But when all was compleated, and wanted only to be ſhipped, which was about the 24th of *November*, at which time too the N. E. monſoon was ſet in, he then reſolved to apply himſelf to the Viceroy to demand an audience, as he was perſuaded that, without this ceremony, the procuring a permiſſion to ſend his ſtores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of *November*, therefore, Mr. *Anſon* ſent one of his officers to the *Mandarine*, who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of *Canton*, with a letter directed to the Viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the *Mandarine*, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in *Chineſe*, and promiſed that the Viceroy ſhould be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer, it was not

neceſſary for him to wait for an anſwer, becauſe a meſſage would be ſent to the Commodore himſelf.

On this occaſion Mr. *Anſon* had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter to ſend with his officer, as he was well aware that none of the *Chineſe*, uſually employed as Linguiſts, could be relied on: But he at laſt prevailed with Mr. *Flint*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman belonging to the factory, who ſpoke *Chineſe* perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This perſon, who upon this occaſion and many others was of ſingular ſervice to the Commodore, had been left at *Canton* when a youth, by the late Captain *Rigby*. The leaving him there to learn the *Chineſe* language was a ſtep taken by that Captain, merely from his own perſuaſion of the great advantages which the *Eaſt-India* Company might one day receive from an *Engliſh* interpreter; and tho' the utility of this meaſure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this day imitated: But we imprudently chooſe (except in this ſingle inſtance) to carry on the vaſt tranſactions of the port of *Canton*, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken *Engliſh*, which ſome few of the *Chineſe* have learnt, or by the ſuſpected interpretation of the Linguiſts of other Nations.

Two days after the ſending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of *Canton*. On the firſt alarm, Mr. *Anſon* went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to aſſiſt the *Chineſe*. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a ſailor's ſhed, and that by the ſlightneſs of the buildings, and the awkwardneſs of the *Chineſe*, it was getting head apace: But he perceived, that by pulling down ſome of the adjacent ſheds it might eaſily be extin-

extinguiſhed; and particularly obſerving that it was running along a wooden corniſh, which would ſoon communicate it to a great diſtance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that corniſh; this was preſently attempted, and would have been ſoon executed; but, in the mean time, he was told, that, as there was no *Mandarine* there to direct what was to be done, the *Chineſe* would make him, the Commodore, anſwerable for whatever ſhould be pulled down by his orders. On this his people deſiſted; and he ſent them to the *Engliſh* factory, to aſſiſt in ſecuring the Company's treaſure and effects, as it was eaſy to foreſee that no diſtance was a protection againſt the rage of ſuch a fire, where ſo little was done to put a ſtop to it; for all this time the *Chineſe* contented themſelves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they ſeemed to expect ſhould check its progreſs: However, at laſt, a *Mandarine* came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: Theſe made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes; but by this time the fire had greatly extended itſelf, and was got amongſt the Merchants warehouſes; and the *Chineſe* firemen, wanting both ſkill and ſpirit, were incapable of checking its violence; ſo that its fury encreaſed upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be deſtroyed. In this general confuſion the Viceroy himſelf came thither, and the Commodore was ſent to, and was entreated to afford his aſſiſtance, being told that he might take any meaſures he ſhould think moſt prudent in the preſent emergency. And now he went thither a ſecond time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, upon this occaſion, exerted themſelves in ſuch a manner, as

in that country was altogether without example: For they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings, amongſt which they wrought; ſo that it was not uncommon to ſee the moſt forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidſt the ruins of houſes, which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldneſs and activity the fire was ſoon extinguiſhed, to the amazement of the *Chineſe*; and the building being all on one floor, and the materials ſlight, the ſeamen, notwithſtanding their daring behaviour, happily eſcaped with no other injuries, than ſome conſiderable bruiſes.

The fire, though at laſt thus luckily extinguiſhed, did great miſchief during the time it continued; for it conſumed an hundred ſhops and eleven ſtreets full of warehouſes, ſo that the damage amounted to an immenſe ſum; and one of the *Chineſe* Merchants, well known to the *Engliſh*, whoſe name was *Succoy*, was ſuppoſed, for his own ſhare, to have loſt near two hundred thouſand pound ſterling. It raged indeed with unuſual violence, for in many of the warehouſes, there were large quantities of camphire, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which ſhot up into the air to ſuch a prodigious height, that the flame itſelf was plainly ſeen on board the *Centurion*, tho' ſhe was thirty miles diſtant.

Whilſt the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general ſtill poſſeſſed the whole city, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable *Chineſe* Merchants came to Mr. *Anſon*, to deſire that he would let each of them have one of his ſoldiers (for ſuch

they ſtyled his boat's crew, from the uniformity of their dreſs) to guard their warehouſes and dwelling-houſes, which, from the known diſhoneſty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. *Anſon* granted them this requeſt; and all the men that he thus furniſhed to the *Chineſe* behaved greatly to the ſatisfaction of their employers, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the reſolution of the *Engliſh* at the fire, and their truſtineſs and punctuality elſewhere, was the general ſubject of converſation amongſt the *Chineſe*: And, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore to thank him for his aſſiſtance; frankly owning to him, that they could never have extinguiſhed the fire of themſelves, and that he had ſaved their city from being totally conſumed. And ſoon after a meſſage came to the Commodore from the Viceroy, appointing the 30th of *November* for his audience; which ſudden reſolution of the Viceroy, in a matter that had been ſo long agitated in vain, was alſo owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by Mr. *Anſon* and his people at the fire, of which the Viceroy himſelf had been in ſome meaſure an eye-witneſs.

The fixing this buſineſs of the audience, was, on all accounts, a circumſtance which Mr. *Anſon* was much pleaſed with; as he was ſatisfied that the *Chineſe* Government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themſelves to give up their pretenſions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reaſonably aſk; for as they well knew the Commodore's ſentiments, it would have been a piece

of imprudence, not consistent with the refined cunning of the *Chinese*, to have admitted him to an audience, only to have contested with him. And therefore, being himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made all necessary preparations against the day; and engaged Mr. *Flint*, whom I have mentioned before, to act as interpreter in the conference: Who, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himself much to the Commodore's satisfaction; repeating with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, all that was given in charge, a part which no *Chinese* Linguist would ever have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a *Mandarine* came to the Commodore, to let him know that the Viceroy was ready to receive him; on which the Commodore and his retinue immediately set out: And as soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred soldiers drawn up ready to attend him; these conducted him to the great parade before the Emperor's palace, where the Viceroy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, and made a very fine appearance, being all of them new cloathed for this ceremony: And Mr. *Anson* and his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the Viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the Emperor's chair of State, with all his Council of *Mandarines* attending: Here there was a vacant seat prepared for the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival: He was ranked the third in order from

the Viceroy, there being above him only the Head of the Law, and of the Treaſury, who in the *Chineſe* Government take place of all military officers. When the Commodore was ſeated, he addreſſed himſelf to the Viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with, to the inſincerity of thoſe he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left, than to ſend, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the Viceroy ſtopped the interpreter, and bid him aſſure Mr. *Anſon*, that the firſt knowledge they had of his being at *Canton*, was from that letter. Mr. *Anſon* then proceeded, and told him, that the ſubjects of the King of *Great-Britain* trading to *China* had complained to him, the Commodore, of the vexatious impoſitions both of the Merchants and inferior Cuſtomhouſe officers, to which they were frequently neceſſitated to ſubmit, by reaſon of the difficulty of getting acceſs to the *Mandarines*, who alone could grant them redreſs: That it was his, Mr. *Anſon's*, duty, as an officer of the King of *Great-Britain*, to lay before the Viceroy theſe grievances of the *Britiſh* ſubjects, which he hoped the Viceroy would take into conſideration, and would give orders, that for the future there ſhould be no juſt reaſon for complaint. Here Mr. *Anſon* pauſed, and waited ſome time in expectation of an anſwer; but nothing being ſaid, he aſked his interpreter if he was certain the Viceroy underſtood what he had urged; the interpreter told him, he was certain it was underſtood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. *Anſon* then repreſented to the

Viceroy

Viceroy the caſe of the ſhip *Haſlingfield*, which having been diſmaſted on the coaſt of *China*, had arrived in the river of *Canton* but a few days before. The people on board this veſſel had been great ſufferers by the fire; the Captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had loſt beſides, in the confuſion, a cheſt of treaſure of four thouſand five hundred *Tahel*, which was ſuppoſed to be ſtolen by the *Chineſe* boat-men. Mr. *Anſon* therefore deſired that the Captain might have the aſſiſtance of the Government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interpoſition of the *Mandarines*. And to this requeſt the Viceroy made anſwer, that in ſettling the Emperor's cuſtoms for that ſhip, ſome abatement ſhould be made in conſideration of her loſſes.

And now the Commodore having diſpatched the buſineſs with which the officers of the *Eaſt-India* Company had entruſted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the Viceroy, that the proper ſeaſon was now ſet in for returning to *Europe*, and that he waited only for a licence to ſhip off his proviſions and ſtores, which were all ready; and that as ſoon as this ſhould be granted him, and he ſhould have gotten his neceſſaries on board, he intended to leave the river of *Canton*, and to make the beſt of his way for *England*. The Viceroy replied to this, that the licence ſhould be immediately iſſued, and that every thing ſhould be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr. *Anſon* had nothing farther to inſiſt on, the Viceroy continued the converſation for ſome time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the *Chineſe* were obliged to him for his ſignal ſervices at the fire, and owning that he had

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ſaved the city from being deſtroyed: And then obſerving that the *Centurion* had been a good while on their coaſt, he cloſed his diſcourſe, by wiſhing the Commodore a good voyage to *Europe*. After which, the Commodore, thanking him for his civility and aſſiſtance, took his leave.

As ſoon as the Commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much preſſed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the Viceroy himſelf was not to be preſent, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the ſame manner as at his arrival; only at his leaving the city he was ſaluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at laſt finiſhed this troubleſome affair, which, for the preceding four months, had given him great diſquietude. Indeed he was highly pleaſed with procuring a licence for the ſhipping of his ſtores and proviſions; for thereby he was enabled to return to *Great-Britain* with the firſt of the monſoon, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: But this, though a very important point, was not the circumſtance which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent eſtabliſhed on this occaſion, by which his Majeſty's ſhips of war are for the future exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of *China*.

In purſuance of the promiſes of the Viceroy, the proviſions were begun to be ſent on board the day after the audience; and, four days after, the Commodore embarked at *Canton* for the *Centurion*; and, on the 7th of *December*, the *Centurion* and her prize

prize unmoored, and ſtood down the river, paſſing through the *Bocca Tygris* on the 10th. And on this occaſion I muſt obſerve, that the *Chineſe* had taken care to man the two forts, on each ſide of that paſſage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greateſt part of them armed with pikes and match-lock muſquets. Theſe garriſons affected to ſhew themſelves as much as poſſible to the ſhips, and were doubtleſs intended to induce Mr. *Anſon* to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the *Chineſe* military power: For this purpoſe they were equipped with much parade, having a great number of colours expoſed to view; and on the caſtle in particular there were laid conſiderable heaps of large ſtones; and a ſoldier of unuſual ſize, dreſſed in very ſightly armour, ſtalkt about on the parapet with a battle-ax in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as poſſible, though ſome of the obſervers on board the *Centurion* ſhrewdly ſuſpected, from the appearance of his armour, that inſtead of ſteel, it was compoſed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The *Centurion* and her prize being now without the river of *Canton*, and conſequently upon the point of leaving the *Chineſe* juriſdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the *Chineſe* affairs, to ſubjoin a few remarks on the diſpoſition and genius of that extraordinary people. And though it may be ſuppoſed, that obſervations made at *Canton* only, a place ſituated in the corner of the Empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general concluſions, yet as thoſe who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country, have been evidently influenced by very

very ridiculous prepoſſeſſions, and as the tranſactions of Mr. *Anſon* with the Regency of *Canton* were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumſtances occurred, different perhaps from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflections, many of them drawn from theſe incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the *Chineſe* are a very ingenious and induſtrious people, is ſufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and which are eagerly ſought for by the moſt diſtant nations; but though ſkill in the handicraft arts ſeems to be the moſt important qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a ſecond-rate kind; for they are much out-done by the *Japaneſe* in thoſe manufactures, which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous inſtances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the *Europeans*. Indeed, their principal excellency ſeems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius, which conſtantly attends all ſervile imitators. This is moſt conſpicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, *&c.* for in all theſe, though they can copy the different parts, and can form ſome reſemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at ſuch a juſtneſs in their fabric, as was neceſſary to produce the deſired effect. And if we paſs from their manufacturers to artiſts of a ſuperiour claſs, as painters, ſtatuaries, *&c.* in theſe matters they ſeem to be ſtill more defective, their painters, though very numerous and in great eſteem, rarely ſucceeding in the drawing or colour-

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ing of human figures, or in the grouping of large compoſitions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in theſe, ſome part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightneſs and excellency of the colours, than to the ſkill of the painter; ſince it is very unuſual to ſee the light and ſhade juſtly and naturally handled, or to find that eaſe and grace in the drawing, which are to be met with in the works of *European* artiſts. In ſhort, there is a ſtiffneſs and minuteneſs in moſt of the *Chineſe* productions, which are extremely diſpleaſing: And it may perhaps be aſſerted with great truth, that theſe defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people, amongſt whom nothing great or ſpirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the *Chineſe* literature, (taking our accounts from the writers, who have endeavoured to repreſent it in the moſt favourable light) we ſhall find, that on this head their obſtinacy and abſurdity are moſt wonderful: For though, for many ages, they have been ſurrounded by nations, to whom the uſe of letters was familiar, yet they, the *Chineſe* alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themſelves of that almoſt divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of repreſenting words by arbitrary marks; a method, which neceſſarily renders the number of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwiſe than partially ſkilled; whilſt all reading, and underſtanding of what is written, is attended with infinite obſcurity and confuſion; for the connexion between theſe marks,

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and the words they repreſent, cannot be retained in books, but muſt be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: And how uncertain this muſt prove in ſuch a complicated ſubject, is ſufficiently obvious to thoſe who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are tranſmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is eaſy to conclude, that the hiſtory and inventions of paſt ages, recorded by theſe perplexed ſymbols, muſt frequently prove unintelligible; and conſequently the learning and boaſted antiquity of the Nation muſt, in numerous inſtances, be extremely problematical.

But we are told by ſome of the Miſſionaries, that though the ſkill of the *Chineſe* in ſcience is indeed much inferior to that of the *Europeans*, yet the morality and juſtice taught and practiſed by them are moſt exemplary. And from the deſcription given by ſome of theſe good fathers, one ſhould be induced to believe, that the whole Empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only conteſts were, who ſhould exert the moſt humanity and beneficence: But our preceding relation of the behaviour of the Magiſtrates, Merchants, and Tradeſmen at *Canton*, ſufficiently refutes theſe jeſuitical fictions. And as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the ſpecimens exhibited in the works of the Miſſionaries, we ſhall find them ſolely employed in recommending ridiculous attachments to certain immaterial points, inſtead of diſcuſſing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another, on reaſonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretenſion of the *Chineſe* to a more refined morality than their neighbours

bours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but ſolely on the affected evenneſs of their demeanor, and their conſtant attention to ſuppreſs all ſymptoms of paſſion and violence. But it muſt be conſidered, that hypocriſy and fraud are often not leſs miſchievous to the general intereſts of mankind, than impetuoſity and vehemence of temper: Since theſe, though uſually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude ſincerity, benevolence, reſolution, nor many other laudable qualities. And perhaps, if this matter was examined to the bottom, it would appear, that the calm and patient turn of the *Chineſe*, on which they ſo much value themſelves, and which diſtinguiſhes the Nation from all others, is in reality the ſource of the moſt exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often obſerved by thoſe who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robuſt and violent paſſions, without augmenting, at the ſame time, the force of the ſelfiſh ones: So that the timidity, diſſimulation, and diſhoneſty of the *Chineſe*, may, in ſome ſort, be owing to the compoſure, and external decency, ſo univerſally prevailing in that Empire.

Thus much for the general diſpoſition of the people: But I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without adding a few words about the *Chineſe* Government, that too having been the ſubject of boundleſs panegyric. And on this head I muſt obſerve, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the adminiſtration of their domeſtic affairs, are ſufficiently confuted by their tranſactions with Mr. *Anſon*: For we have ſeen that their Magiſtrates are corrupt, their people thieviſh, and their tribunals crafty and venal. Nor is the conſtitution of

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the Empire, or the general orders of the State leſs liable to exception: Since that form of Government, which does not in the firſt place provide for the ſecurity of the public againſt the enterprizes of foreign powers, is certainly a moſt defective inſtitution: And yet this populous, this rich and extenſive country, ſo pompouſly celebrated for its refined wiſdom and policy, was conquered about an age ſince by an handful of *Tartars*; and even now, by the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues expoſed not only to the attempts of any potent State, but to the ravages of every petty Invader. I have already obſerved, on occaſion of the Commodore's diſputes with the *Chineſe*, that the *Centurion* alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that Empire: This perhaps may appear an extraordinary poſition; but to render it unqueſtionable, there is exhibited in the forty-ſecond plate the draught of two of the veſſels made uſe of by the *Chineſe*. The firſt of theſe marked (A), is a junk of about a hundred and twenty tuns burthen, and was what the *Centurion* hove down by; theſe are moſt uſed in the great rivers, though they ſometimes ſerve for ſmall coaſting voyages: The other junk marked (B) is about two hundred and eighty tuns burthen, and is of the ſame form with thoſe in which they trade to *Cochinchina*, *Manila*, *Batavia* and *Japan*, though ſome of their trading veſſels are of a much larger ſize; its head, which is repreſented at (C) is perfectly flat; and when the veſſel is deep laden, the ſecond or third plank of this flat ſurface is oft-times under water. The maſts, ſails, and rigging of theſe veſſels are ruder than their built; for their maſts are made of trees, no otherwiſe faſhioned

than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each maſt has only two ſhrowds made of twiſted rattan, which are often both ſhifted to the weather-ſide; and the halyard, when the yard is up, ſerves inſtead of a third ſhroud. The ſails are made of matt, ſtrengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run upon the maſt with hoops, as is repreſented in the figure, and when they are lowered down, they fold upon the deck. Theſe merchantmen carry no cannon; and it appears, from this whole deſcription, that they are utterly incapable of reſiſting any *European* armed veſſel. Nor is the State provided with ſhips of conſiderable force, or of a better fabric, to protect them: For at *Canton*, where doubtleſs their principal naval power is ſtationed, we ſaw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tuns burthen, being of the make already deſcribed, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largeſt of which did not exceed a four pounder. This may ſuffice to give an idea of the defenceleſs ſtate of the *Chineſe* Empire. But it is time to return to the Commodore, whom I left with his two ſhips without the *Bocca Tigris*; and who, on the 12th of *December*, anchored before the town of *Macao*.

Whilſt the ſhips lay here, the Merchants of *Macao* finiſhed their agreement for the galeon, for which they had offered 6000 dollars; this was much ſhort of her value, but the impatience of the Commodore to get to ſea, to which the merchants were no ſtrangers, prompted them to inſiſt on ſo unequal a bargain. Mr. *Anſon* had learnt enough from the *Engliſh* at *Canton* to conjecture, that the war betwixt *Great-Britain* and *Spain* was

ſtill continued; and that probably the *French* might engage in the aſſiſtance of *Spain*, before he could arrive in *Great-Britain*; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could get to *Europe* of the prize he had taken, and the treaſure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from *Canton*, he was reſolved to make all poſſible expedition in getting back, that he might be himſelf the firſt meſſenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: For theſe reaſons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the ſum offered for the galeon; and ſhe being delivered to the Merchants the 15th of *December* 1743, the *Centurion*, the ſame day, got under ſail, on her return to *England*. And, on the 3d of *January*, ſhe came to an anchor at *Prince's Iſland* in the Streights of *Sunda*, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when ſhe weighed and ſtood for *The Cape of Good Hope*, where, on the 11th of *March*, ſhe anchored in *Table-bay*.

The Cape of Good Hope is ſituated in a temperate climate, where the exceſſes of heat and cold are rarely known; and the *Dutch* inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native induſtry, have ſtock'd it with prodigious plenty of all ſort of fruits and proviſions; moſt of which, either from the equality of the ſeaſons, or the peculiarity of the ſoil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elſewhere: So that by theſe, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this ſettlement is the beſt provided of any in the known world, for the refreſhment of ſeamen after long voyages. Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of *April*, highly delighted with the

place

place, which by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthineſs of its air, and the pictureſque appearance of the country, all enlivened by the addition of a civilized colony, was not diſgraced in an imaginary compariſon with the vallies of *Juan Fernandes*, and the lawns of *Tinian*. During his ſtay he entered about forty new men; and having, by the 3d of *April* 1744, compleated his water and proviſion, he, on that day, weighed and put to ſea; and, the 19th of the ſame month, they ſaw the Iſland of *St. Helena*, which however they did not touch at, but ſtood on their way; and, on the 10th of *June*, being then in ſoundings, they ſpoke with an *Engliſh* ſhip from *Amſterdam* bound for *Philadelphia*, whence they received the firſt intelligence of a *French* war; the twelfth they got ſight of the *Lizard*; and the fifteenth, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came ſafe to an anchor at *Spithead*. But that the ſignal perils which had ſo often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprize, might purſue them to the very laſt, Mr. *Anſon* learnt, on his arrival, that there was a *French* fleet of conſiderable force cruiſing in the chops of the Channel; which, by the account of their poſition, he found the *Centurion* had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finiſhed, when it had laſted three years and nine months; after having, by its event, ſtrongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, and perſeverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverſe fortune; yet in a long ſeries of tranſactions, they uſually riſe ſuperior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving ſucceſsful.

F I N I S.

A CHART
of the Southern Part of
SOUTH AMERICA;
With the Track of the Centurion from the Island of St Catherines to the Island of Juan Fernandes: In which is inserted the Variation and Soundings observed on board her; together with her Deviation from her estimated Course in passing round Cape Horn, occasioned by the force of the Currents.
LA PLATA
BRAZIL
CHILI
PATAGONIA
FALKLAND ISLE
ISLA DE TERRA DEL FUEGO
Rio de la Plata
Rio Grande
Cape Horn
Cape Blanco
Straits of Magellan
Staten Land
Juan Fernandes I.
Cape St Andrew
Bay Anegada
Cape Virgin
Cape Virgin Mary
Cape Pilar
Cape Horn
Bay of Chiloe
Valparaiso
St Jago
Concepcion
Baldavia
Corelmayo
Pepys I.
Schuld de Wards Islands
Hermites Isl.
Barnaveld Isle
These Arrows shew the Setting of the Current
Here we reach the Rockwing when we make Cape Horn
The Lines denote Centurion's Alpha Track, attracting the Western Current
The Lines denote Centurion's Alpha Track, attracting the Western Current
R. W. Sale sculp.

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